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Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House: the Architectural, Economic, and Social Analysis of a Post-Restoration Scottish Country Seat

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PhD History of Art
The University of Edinburgh
2018

Abstract of Thesis

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Name of student:	Charlotte A Bassett	UUN	S1348795
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Title of thesis:	*Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House: the Architectural, Economic, and Social Analysis of a Post-Restoration Scottish Country Seat*		

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This dissertation examines the patronage, design, and construction of Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House (circa 1698-1721). It was built as the country seat of the Hope family, who became the Earls of Hopetoun in 1703. While scholars have discussed Hopetoun House from a theoretical perspective, the aim of this dissertation is to explore country seat from a practical point of view. A country seat was much more than a large house: it was a family's socio-economic and political headquarters. The entire landscape, as well as the house, had to represent and support the family. A necessary investigation into the source of the Hopes' wealth and rise up the socio-political ladder will lead into a study of how Hopetoun's landscape was adapted to agricultural purposes. This portion of the landscape was organised around the designed areas of the landscape. Nessled in the centre of this dually functional and formal landscape was Hopetoun's main house. As with the landscape, Bruce designed the main house with function, as well as theory, in mind. On the one hand, it was built to showcase the prestige of the Hope family. On the other, it had to accommodate and support a large household. In short, this dissertation

will showcase the complexity and humanity of Hopetoun House's design. This methodological method can be incorporated into current country house historiography.

Lay Summary of Thesis

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The lay summary is a brief summary intended to facilitate knowledge transfer and enhance accessibility, therefore the language used should be non-technical and suitable for a general audience. (See the Degree Regulations and Programmes of Study, General Postgraduate Degree Programme Regulations. These regulations are available via: www.drps.ed.ac.uk.)

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Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Chapter I:

Chapter II:

Chapter V:

Chapter VI:

Chapter X:

Chapter XI:

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, Ian Campbell and John Lowrey, for their guidance and support. They both pushed me down a unique and complex array of avenues of research. I would also like to give special thanks to the team at Hopetoun House Papers Trust for giving me ample access to the archives' materials. I would never have been able to write this dissertation without such extensive materials. Special thanks must also be given to the National Records of Scotland, the National Library of Scotland, Historic Environment Scotland, and the University of Glasgow's Special Collections for giving me access to their archival matierials. Finally, I would like to thank my family for the love and support they have always given me. Without it, I would not have even considered starting a doctoral programme.

Chapter I: Introduction

Hopetoun House is a post-Restoration country seat located approximately ten miles northwest of Edinburgh near South Queensferry on the Firth of Forth. The first phase of Hopetoun House was designed by Sir William Bruce in 1698 for the Hope family. The house's construction, which began in 1699, was the culmination of a century's-worth of the Hopes' social advancement, which took place amid the social and cultural changes of seventeenth-century Scottish politics. Scotland's socio-political scene had long been dominated by the *noblesse d'epée*, or landed nobility, during the late medieval period.[1] One of the changes that occurred was that James VI and Charles I used their power of granting titles 'to manipulate their nobles through a redefinition of honour in which standardised forms of social stratification were reinforced by offering cheap dignities in return for good service.'[2] The seventeenth-century witnessed the birth of a new generation of aristocrats, the *noblesse de robe,* who gained formal peerage ranks through immense wealth and political service.[3]

The Hope family was thus typical of Scotland's *noblesse de robe* in that it rose from the relative prosperity of Edinburgh's mercantile and professional sectors in 1600 to a peerage title and immense prestige over the course of the seventeenth-century.[4] Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall (1573-1646) began this social ascent. He was the grandson of an Edinburgh burgess and was

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1 Keith M. Brown, 'Honour, Honours and Nobility in Scotland between the Reformation and the National Covenant,' *The Scottish Historical Review* 91, no. 231 (April, 2012): p. 64, https://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=0377cac6-f391-40c6-a53c-daf322022bbd%40sessionmgr198&hid=122&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#db=aph&AN=73929545.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Charles Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture: A Fresh Approach to Sir William Bruce and the Scottish Country House,' *Architectural Heritage* 23 (2012): pp. 118, 122-3, https://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=a6e24cdf-d5d1-409b-b699-eb1d614edef6%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4108.

4 Hopetoun House Preservation Trust, 'A History of the Hope Family,' *Hopetoun: A Lasting Impression,* publication date unknown, http://www.hopetoun.co.uk/history-of-the-hope-family.html (accessed 10 July, 2015). For more on the noblesse de robe verses the noblesse d'epée, see Charles Wemyss, *Noble Houses of Scotland: 1660-1800* (London: Prestel Verlag, 2014), pp. 69-217 and Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture,' pp. 117-132.

made the King's Advocate by Charles I in 1626.[5] He was then appointed to the Scottish Privy Council and was made the First Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628.[6] His fourth son, James Hope (1614-1661), followed in his father's footsteps in becoming a lawyer and married Anna Foulis, daughter of goldsmith and merchant Robert Foulis, in 1638.[7] Thanks to this union, the Hopes acquired a number of mining properties in Lanarkshire commonly known as Leadhills, which became responsible for the family's enormous wealth.[8] It was his son, John Hope (1650-1682), who purchased land at Abercorn and planned to construct a country seat before his untimely death in 1682 in the shipwreck of the *Gloucester,* where he was accompanying James Stuart, the Duke of York, to Scotland.[9]

Before his death in 1682, John Hope married Lady Margaret Hamilton in 1668 and had five children (four daughters and one son) with her; the first three (Margaret, Christian, and Anna) died very young.[10] Two more survived: one daughter, Helen (1677-1768), who married the Sixth Earl of Haddington (her first cousin) and helped instigate the early improvements of the Tynningham estate; and one son, Charles Hope (1681-1742), who was to become the First Earl of Hopetoun and an important figure in the region.[11]

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5 'A History of the Hope Family.' Also, for more information on Hope family members, see Appendix A.

6 David Stevenson, 'Hope, Sir Thomas, of Craighall, first baronet (1573–1646),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13736 (accessed 10 July, 2015).

7 Arthur H. Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James, of Hopetoun, appointed Lord Hopetoun under the protectorate (1614–1661),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13722 (accessed 10 July, 2015); 'A History of the Hope Family.'

8 *Ibid.*

9 'A History of the Hope Family.'

10 These first three daughters lived between 1668 and 1778. John Hope, 'Ffollowes the bond of provision in favours of the Children,' bond of provision signed at Tynningham, 16 April, 1674, NRAS/888 Volume 336, Hopetoun House Papers Trust [HHPT], Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, UK; John Hope, 'Ffollowes the postscript on the back of the sd bond of provision in favors of Mrs Helena,' bond of provision postscript signed at Tynningham, 14 March, 1678, NRAS/888 Volume 336, HHPT.

11 Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Hope, Helen,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/70532/?back=,13716 (accessed 20 October, 2016); T.F. Henderson, 'Hope, Charles, first earl of Hopetoun (1681-1742),' rev. Mairianna Birkeland, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13716 (accessed 10 July, 2015).

Lady Margaret Hope was born in 1649 as the eldest child of Lord John Hamilton, the Fourth Earl of Haddington, and Christian, the second daughter of John, the Seventeenth Earl of Crawford, First Earl of Lindsay, and Lord Treasurer to Scotland.[12] Following her husband's death in 1682, Lady Margaret Hope was named her children's tutrix and curatrix *sine qua non* and one of the estate's intromitters.[13] These were legal terms that secured her role as her children's chief guardian and estate administrator. It was her careful management that allowed Hopetoun House—a status symbol that was key in securing the Hopes' place among Scotland's peers—to be built in the first place. In fact, it has been widely held that Lady Margaret, rather than her son, was Hopetoun's original patroness.[14]

A quick look at the 1698 building contract underscores Lady Margaret's quintessential role in commissioning Hopetoun House. Charles Hope's guardians, including his mother, are referred to as his curators (or guardians) in this document.[15] It is also important to note that all of his curators, with the exception of Lady Margaret, are referred to as witnesses (*Figure 1.1*). Thus,

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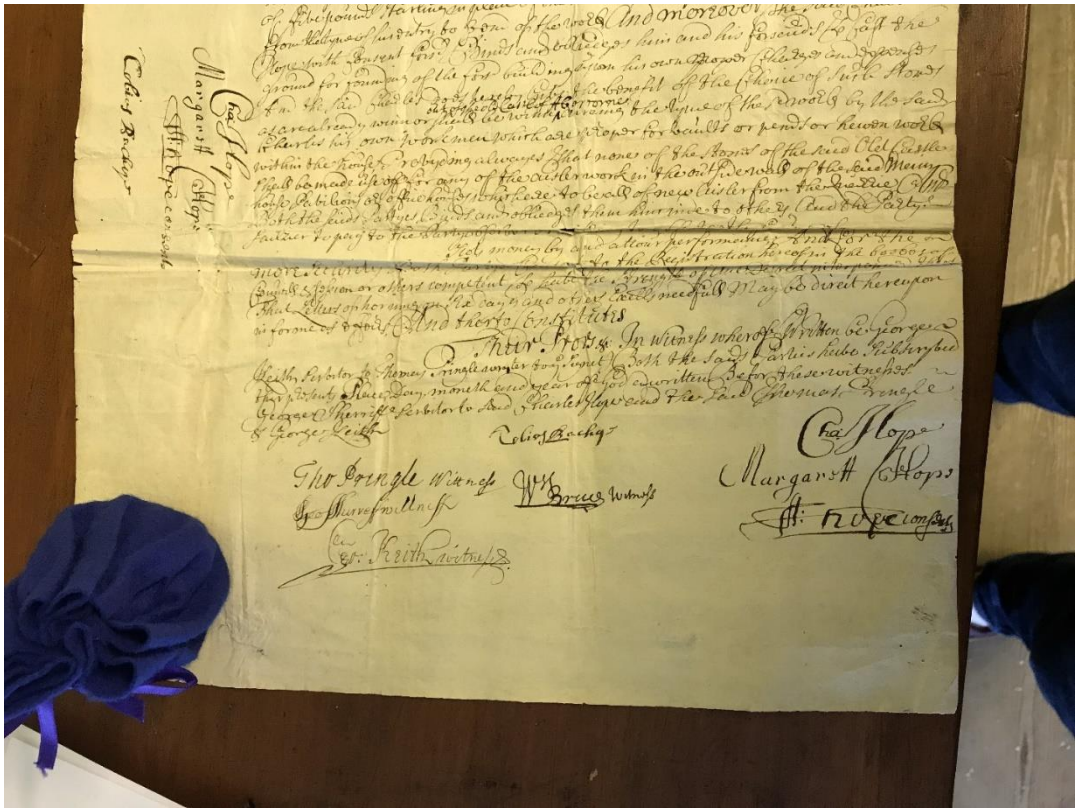
12 Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms, ed., *The Scots Peerage: Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of That Kingdom,* volume IV (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904), p. 318, http://www.electricscotland.com/books/pdf/ScotsPeerageVol4.pdf. For more information on Hamilton family members, see Appendix A.

13 John Hope, 'Will and Testament of John Hope of Hopetoun,' will and testament signed at Tynningham, 16 April, 1674, NRAS/888 Volume 336, HHPT.

14 Deborah Howard, 'Chapter 5: Sir William Bruce's Design for Hopetoun House and Its Forerunners,' Ian Gow and Alistair Rowan, eds., *Scottish Country Houses: 1600-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995): p. 53; James Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' *Architectural Heritage* 20, no. 1 (2009): p. 1 https://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=aae46495-175d-4635-9eb9-921dccdf9799%40sessionmgr4001&hid=4203&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d; Alistair Rowan, 'The Building of Hopetoun,' *Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in Architectural History Presented to Howard Colvin* 27 (1984): pp. 184, https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/stable/1568462?sid=primo&origin=crossref&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents; B.C. Skinner, 'The Country Seat and Vitruvius Scotticus: Hopetoun as the House of State,' lecture, a Paper Read to the Scottish Georgian Society, Scottish Georgian Society [now known as The Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland], location of event unknown, 1980.

15 Thomas Pringle, writer, Tobias Bachope, Charles Hope, Margarett Hope, Thomas Pringle, William Bruce, Geo Ssurvessn [sic], Char. Keith Pringle, witnesses, 'Contract Betwixt the Laird Hopetoun & his Curators And Tobias Bachope, 1698' [Hopetoun Building Contract], building contract for Hopetoun House, 29 December, 1698, line 2, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. For a full transcription of the Hopetoun Building Contract, see Appendix E.

Lady Margaret can instead clearly be seen as a co-signee of Hopetoun's building contract, which acts as further evidence that she is the original patroness of Hopetoun. The commissioning and construction of Hopetoun House was Lady Margaret's ultimate achievement in promoting the family's public image. The senior branch of the Hopes already had their new seat at Craighall Castle, which was renovated by William Bruce.[16] Although the Hopes owned Niddry Castle, the construction of an entirely new country house meant it could be personalised to the family's socio-political and private needs. It would also be a building that was officially entirely their own that would not contain the weight of a previous family's history in its halls.



(*Figure 1.1,* Photograph of the Hopetoun Building Contract (1698), taken by author. Lady Margaret's signature is prominently displayed in the bottom right corner between Charles Hope's and Sir Archibald Hope's signatures)

The management of Hopetoun House was continued under Charles once he came of age. Charles married Lady Henrietta Johnstone (1682-1750), the daughter of William Johnstone, First Marquess of Annandale, in

16 See Appendix A.

1699. He was then made the First Earl of Hopetoun in 1703. Lord Hopetoun was a strong supporter of the Act of Union in 1707, which undoubtedly preserved his political standing in a unified Britain.[17] He also held a number of Lothian and Scottish public positions during his lifetime.[18] Lord Hopetoun was thus a prominent member of his community and country, with a public image designed to impress his peers. However, Hopetoun House was originally commissioned, designed, and constructed several years before Charles Hope rose to such public prominence when the Hopes were still merely industrial barons. This notion will be very important to this dissertation's analysis of Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House.

Returning to the house itself, Hopetoun was heavily expanded and renovated from a restrained country house to an extravagant palace between the 1720s and 1760s by William Adam and his sons. Most of Bruce's layout for the principal storey of the main block and his design for the west façade survive. Otherwise, the current building is the result of the Adams' design. Because of this, any and all remaining documentation relating to the development of Bruce's Hopetoun is all the more essential. There are two main categories for this documentation (with some crossover): the first pertains to Hopetoun's original appearance and layout; the other pertains to its construction. An important document, which falls into both categories, is the aforementioned contract for the construction of Hopetoun House's main house. It was signed on 29 December, 1698 between Lady Margaret Hope (in the name of Charles Hope), Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, the architect, Sir William Bruce, and the mason, Tobias Bachope, with Thomas Pringle (Writer to the Signet), George Sherriff, and George Keith acting as witnesses.[19] The contract is an essential document because, while the location of the original draughts of the house are unknown, it describes

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17 T.F. Henderson, 'Hope, Charles, first earl of Hopetoun (1681-1742).'

18 The lord lieutenant of Linlithgow from 1715 to 1742, the commissioner to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1723, a Scottish representative peer from 1722 to 1742, the lord of police from 1734, a knight of the Order of the Thistle from 1738, and the governor of Bank of Scotland from 1740 until his death in 1742*Ibid.*

19 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 1-4 and lines 161-8.

Bruce's designs for the main house in intricate detail. There are two more documents that illustrate the appearance of Bruce's Hopetoun House: engravings of the principal floor plan and entrance façade from the second volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717).

Ultimately, the product of Lady Margaret's patronage and Bruce's design was a main house built in an austere classical style. As will be seen, this stylistic choice is essential to understanding the symbolic function of Hopetoun. The exterior, interior, and landscape had to demonstrate wealth and nobility. Crucially, however, they did not lay claim to an ancient lineage with a baronial style, nor did Hopetoun infringe too greatly upon a previous family's heritage through an ostentatious landscape (as Bruce made the mistake of doing with Kinross and Loch Leven Castle).[20] The Hopes were more subtle in this regard. Hopetoun speaks to the patron's ambition and simultaneous understanding of the relationship between image and public reception.

However, Hopetoun House was much more than the main house described by the contract or depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus.* What is described and shown in those documents is the tip of the iceberg. A country seat and its patrons are inseparable, especially given the fact that they had to be liveable structures; it is not enough to study a country house through its architect alone. The everyday and the symbolic were intertwined for high-ranking families at country seats in such a way that meant the family was always on display. Hopetoun House thus had to be tailor-made to the socio-economic, socio-political, and everyday needs of the Hope family. Sir William Bruce also designed Hopetoun House as the Hopes' country seat, not as a secondary residence or suburban retreat. As such, Hopetoun House was not just the administrative centre for the surrounding estate, but for the entire collection of the Hopes' landholdings—this included their activities at Leadhills. Thus, the development of Hopetoun House included the erection of

[20] Although Midhope Castle is situated a mile away from Hopetoun, it was not incorporated into the landscape as a vista-endpoint.

office houses that supported the house and the estate. It also had to develop a formal landscape that adapted to surrounding agricultural activities. Surviving building accounts help to piece together what happened to the main house well beyond the confines of stylistic elements between the signing of the building contract in 1698 and the publication of the aforementioned engravings in 1717.

These documents provide an incredible amount of information on the Hopetoun estate's development and what sort of activities it was designed to support. There is a huge gap of research in this area—for Hopetoun, as well as for post-Restoration country houses in general. Hopetoun House, like every country seat, was a cog in the complex machine that was a prosperous estate. In order to understand Hopetoun's main house, it is necessary to explore the offices that supported it. In order to understand those offices, it is necessary to explore the offices that supported the estate. In order to understand the offices that supported the estate, it is necessary to explore how the estate was run. As Charles Saumarez Smith very rightly states:

> 'Architecture is often represented as if it consisted solely of work by a single autonomous individual, sitting in front of a drawing board with an encyclopedic knowledge of the past and an unlimited supply of pattern books. Yet it is a highly physical process, requiring great skills of organization and management, and an adequate supply of materials and capital, alongside large numbers of craftsmen and labourers, each with a specialized knowledge of a particular technology. Architecture is not just a cerebral statement, but the manipulation of capital and the more substantiated properties of glass, timber and stone.'[21]

In short, this dissertation's thesis can be summarised as following.

The Hopes spent the whole of the seventeenth century rising through the social ranks from the professional ranks to the minor levels of aristocracy. At the same time, their industrial activities imparted them with great wealth and socio-economic prestige. After achieving the high-ranking earldom of Hopetoun, the Hopes continued careful management of the estate throughout the long eighteenth century, much to their benefit; their social

[21] Charles Saumarez Smith, *The Building of Castle Howard* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1990), p. 72.

identity was thus slightly paradoxical. Sir William Bruce designed Hopetoun House as the Hopes' country seat, or estate headquarters. This house had to showcase the family's arrival to the realm of Scottish aristocracy and their economic influence. However, since the Hopes were, as yet, only barons, the house had to be designed in such a way that it would not overstep the boundaries of social etiquette. In essence, Hopetoun House had to show off the Hope family in a politic way. This is reflected in the general stylistic and floor plan design of the main house and formal landscape. At the same time, Bruce had to design Hopetoun House as a proper estate headquarters—as a centre for business. Hopetoun could not exist without a flourishing estate. Bruce, with the help of Alexander Edward, designed the whole of Hopetoun's landscape, as well as its main house, to function on this practical level. Hopetoun House was therefore a vast socio-economic and socio-political network driven towards simultaneously augmenting and showcasing the Hopes' wealth and status. What has been described above will be the ideal method of studying Hopetoun House.

This thesis will be an example of microhistory, which is the close study of a single event, place, person, or, in this case, building. It is the notion that the close examination of the small (or even seemingly insignificant) can reveal more about a period or region. It also forces an in-depth use of archival documentation, thereby bringing a great deal of primary-source materials to light for researchers. These studies can contradict and even dismantle generalisations previously put forth by historians. Eamon Duffy sums up this philosophy beautifully in *Voices of Morebath* (2001). In describing the significance of the Morebath churchwardens' accounts (which survive almost in full from 1527-1596), he states:

> 'these accounts were once considered the dreary preserve of county archaeological societies and parochial antiquarians. No longer. Over the last generation, growing interest in the implementation and pace of official religious policy during the Reformation, and a heightened sense of the centrality of the localities for an understanding of early modern society in general, has led historians of religion, politics and of popular culture to place enormous emphasis – and correspondingly high hopes – on churchwardens' accounts. They are increasingly quarried for the information they contain about the nature, priorities and practices of late medieval

religion, for detailed assessment of fluctuations in corporate lay religious investment, for information about the local progress of reform and counter-reformation in the mid-Tudor years, and even for the clues to the precise dating of the rise of religious and folk customs once considered, simply, "immemorial."'[22]

Nearly five centuries after these documents were recorded, a tiny village in one of the remotest regions in the country was able to shed new and highly detailed light on how commoners experienced life and religion in early modern England.

The quotidian was Duffy's purvue and he morphed it into an intellectual analysis. The "immemorial" minutia in seemingly insignificant (i.e., uninteresting) documentation can carve out new, untapped avenues of research. Microhistory gives historians working alone the opportunity to explore the subject as deeply as the available documentation allows. The entire goal, of course, is to understand past societies just a little bit better. Good historiography does not need to take any particular point of view (Marxist, postcolonial, et cetera). Indeed, such approaches run the risk of colouring the modern mind's ability to analyse the past objectively. Finding solace in such safe, categorical approaches is easy. However, this sort of comfort is not the goal. Instead, good historiography depends wholly and completely on every form of primary source documentation that one can lay one's hands on; *this* is the only perspective that matters. Rather than focussing primarily on historical context (which, it should be remembered, was created after the fact), it is infinitely more important to worry about what the relevant documentation says first. Burying oneself in thousands of documents is very uncomfortable, if not panic-inducing; it is a mentally draining and painful way to research. However, the reward is all the sweeter, as this thesis will reflect.

This is the methodological approach this thesis hopes to take. The author of this thesis spent years analysing thousands of documents (and has cited hundreds of them in the following pages) from Hopetoun's archives, as

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[22] Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 20.

well as public archives. She began by transcribing and analysing all of them, including building accounts, rental accounts, and leadmining accounts. Afterwards, she did not just read these documents: she sorted, charted, and graphed each document categorically by period and by content. Such meticulous organisation allowed this author to gain hold of the data content and analyse it appropriately. The secondary research that accompanied this work provided the appropriate context. However, this author's conclusions always remained driven by primary documentation. This approach makes this dissertation a unique piece of work within the realm of architectural historiography. Although its content is completely different, this dissertation has more in common historiographically with such books as *Voices of Morebath* than it generally does with Scottish and British works from the past 30 years. Ultimately, the innumerable documents cited in this thesis led to a new understanding of the patronage, design, and construction of Hopetoun's main house and estate. As such, this thesis will explore a number of relatively untapped avenues (at least in architectural historiography).

This thesis will delve deeply into the Hopes' financial matters, the interaction of the house's design with the surrounding farms and later agricultural improvement, the influence of aristocratic sport on landscape design, and how the house was designed to function on a daily basis. Rather than ignore the heretofore stylistic approach historians have taken with Hopetoun, this thesis will expand it into numerous new avenues. This approach leaves open in the future the opportunity to examine: how the Hopes and other noble families interacted with their tenants and their servants (which this dissertation does briefly); how these people co-existed with their landlords; and even how they were affected by the social, cultural, political, and economic changes that occurred over the course of the eighteenth century. What is more, this thesis sheds new light on the economic significance of Leadhills. It now possible to explore the role these leadmines had in global trade during the eighteenth century. For now, however, the focus will remain on Hopetoun House's place within architectural, economic, and socio-cultural history.

The following chapter will consist of a literature review that will discuss scholarly sources that influenced the historiography of this thesis, the historical context of this thesis, as well as the literature focussing on Hopetoun House. The third chapter will be a stylistic analysis of the house. Rather than exploring material that other, very prominent historians have already examined extensively, this chapter will take a fresh approach to the topic by looking at the contextual experience of the patron and architect. In other words, it will take into account where they travelled, with whom they conducted business, and the sorts of covetable fashions of the period. The fourth chapter will examine the expansion and enrichment of the Hopetoun estate under Lady Margaret Hope in the decades between her husband's death and her patronage of Hopetoun House. Since many noble families fell into financial troubles because of their extravagant building activities, the fifth chapter will examine the economic activities of the First and Second Earls of Hopetoun in the eighteenth century. Essentially, both of these chapters conclude that the Hopes were very healthy (to say the least) financially thanks to their activities at Leadhills and the agricultural improvements they made to their landholdings. Leadmining and agricultural accounts from the third quarter of the seventeenth century through the mid-eighteenth century are essential to these chapters. Primary accounts by travellers to Hopetoun—such as Thomas Pennant, Sir Robert Sibbald, as well as John Macky—and the *Old Statistical Account* (*OSA*) for Abercorn Parish are also key sources of documentation.

This discussion will be a good transition into the sixth chapter, which will examine how Hopetoun's landscape was designed around the estate's agricultural activities. After discussing the functional aspects of Hopetoun's landscape, the seventh chapter will explore the formal elements of Hopetoun's landscape from a symbolic perspective. Not only will this chapter examine Alexander Edward's garden designs, but also the ways in which the formal landscape was adapted to hunting and sport. Primary source accounts of Hopetoun, once again, provide some insight here. More importantly, the

highly detailed estate map draughted by William Adam (circa 1720s), paired with the aforementioned building accounts, help to re-establish what Hopetoun's landscape may have looked like and how it worked. This analysis will be supplemented by contemporaneous treatises on agriculture, gardening, and hunting (designers and patrons would have followed the latest philosophies and theories in these subjects).

This dissertation will thereafter be ready for an in-depth discussion of the main house. The eighth chapter will make a detailed analysis of the aforementioned building contract to try and come to terms with what Bruce originally designed compared to what was built according to the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engravings and the extant west façade. The ninth chapter will re-establish Hopetoun's timeline of construction, which is important in confirming any immediate changes that were made to the original design and how the house was constructed. The tenth chapter will attempt to answer the question of why Bruce designed Hopetoun House as he did by exploring its layout from a functional perspective. In other words, it is essential to explore how the house worked for the Hope family. Finally, the eleventh chapter will go even further in describing and analysing the office houses that directly supported the main house. The *Vitruvius Britannicus* engravings, photographs of extant Bruce spaces at Hopetoun, the building contract, and building accounts are essential to these chapters. Primary accounts (such as John Macky's, Sir Robert Sibbald's, and Colen Campbell's) provide some additional context. The thesis of this dissertation is not in and of itself ground-breaking. However, what makes this dissertation such an important contribution to the field of post-Restoration British country houses is the intensity with which archival evidence is used to establish a new historiography for Hopetoun House and post-Restoration country houses generally.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter will explore the literature that has influenced the development of this thesis. As stated in the Introduction, the design of a country house involved so much more than its visual appearance: it had to take into account the patron's finances, his status, his (expected) lifestyle, and the economic activities of the landscape, to name a few matters of import. In regards to Hopetoun itself, the chief source of information for this thesis came from Hopetoun's private archives. Methodologically, this has not been a very common approach in the historiography of British country houses. Two of the few exceptions include Charles Saumarez Smith's *The Building of Castle Howard* (1990) and Christine Hickey's *Holkham: The Social, Architectural and Landscape History of a Great English Country House* (2017). In a similar vein to Smith and Hickey, the author of this thesis was primarily concerned with why Hopetoun was designed and built the way it was and how it was designed to function on a daily basis. This required an enormous amount of research in architectural, social, economic, and agricultural history. Although this thesis relies first and foremost on primary sources, secondary sources were also very important in shaping the direction this thesis took.

The secondary research for this thesis can be categorised into four tiers. The first is books and articles that have little or nothing to do with the historiography of British country houses itself, but that are innovative in their methodological approach. These will comprise the first section of this literature review. The second tier are books and articles that were helpful in establishing a solid understanding of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century social, economic, and agricultural history in Scotland. This type of research was essential since so much of this thesis depends on the context surrounding the patronage, design, and construction of Hopetoun House. This category will be dealt with in the second section. The third tier of research is the books and articles that contextualised Hopetoun House from

an architectural standpoint. Post-Restoration Scottish domestic architecture was a complex amalgam of traditional Scottish, as well as modern French, Dutch, Italian, and even English building practices. As such, the third section will consist of five sub-sections that will discuss key sources in each field of research. It should be noted that since this thesis is a microform on Hopetoun House, there will be a sixth sub-section discussing Smith's and Hickey's books. Finally, the fourth tier of research deals specifically with scholarship on Hopetoun House.

I. Methodological Influences: Key Examples of Microhistory

This thesis was profoundly shaped by the historiographical practice of microhistory. While broad histories are essential in showcasing general historic trends, authors of microhistory use a limited period, place, or object to try to challenge traditional narratives and establish a better understanding of a historical field of interest. Fernand Braudel was a pioneer in this field of study.[23] Although there are countless works of scholarship that make use of this approach, this thesis will mention a few particularly well-done works. Already quoted in the Introduction to this thesis, Eamon Duffy's *The Voices of Morebath* (2001) is an ideal example of microhistory.[24] Its subject is a tiny and isolated village in a remote region of Devonshire.

However, one of its parish vicars, Sir Christopher Trychay, diligently recorded the churchwardens' proceedings from 1520 until his death in 1574. Not only did he manage to provide modern historians with a glimpse of rural parish life in this period (which spanned the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I), he captured the role that the Reformation had on a local level. Even people as seemingly insignificant as the villagers of Morebath were affected by national politics and the whims of high politicians. For those interested in social history and microhistory, Duffy's skilled use of

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[23] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Centuries, Volumes I-III,* translated by Siân Reynolds (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

[24] Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

archival materials and contextual history is an extremely important guide. The specificity of this level of archival research—and the seemingly unsophisticated subject—does not reduce scholarly work to populist drivel but rather edifies it and improves the field. As this thesis will show, this type of research can very well be incorporated into the historiography of the British counry house. In fact, microhistory has been used in a variety of fields of architectural history.

Duke University scholar, Caroline Bruzelius, brilliantly makes use of this methodology in 'The Dead Come to Town: Preaching, Burying, and Building in the Mendicant Orders' (2008).[25] It discusses the relationship between mendicant architecture and thirteenth and fourteenth century economic, religious, and social phenomena. Bruzelius suggests that Franciscan and Dominican architecture coincided with a shift in attitude towards death and burial, which included a new interpretation of purgatory. As underscored by Jacques Le Goff, it had long been treated according to the Augustinian theory of 'second chance.'[26] This abstract concept evolved over the course of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries into a corporeal place of penitential torment for venial sins.[27] That such punishment did not necessarily lead to salvation was a daunting prospect for the lay public.[28] This theological shift consequently augmented laity anxiety over the possibility of salvation. Such anxiety shows that theological discourse was not disconnected from the general lay public, but rather had a profound influence on contemporary social paradigms. This connection between the intellectual and the common man also demonstrates the fluidity of medieval society. In an effort to alleviate this spiritual stress, the laity consequently looked to another social institution, the Church, for hope. It was believed by the laity that one form of

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25 Caroline Bruzelius, 'The Dead Come to Town: Preaching, Burying, and Building in the Mendicant Orders,' from Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić, editors, *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, Volume 1 of Architectura medii aevi (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008).

26 Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 134.

27 Le Goff, p. 152.

28 Le Goff, 158

insurance against condemnation to purgatory was to give monetary compensation to the Church.

Meanwhile, heightened commercial activities in urban spaces spurred a growth in wealth and size of the *bourgeoisie.* This socio-economic phenomenon was coincidental with the rise of the mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, which depended upon an apostolic, impoverished lifestyle for salvation. One of their chief duties was to preach against heresy and the sins of the corporeal world to the lay public. The simultaneous presence of this sort of rhetoric and the new concept of purgatory augmented any initial fear of posthumous damnation. Due to heightened commercialism of the urban population, there arose a larger proportion of wealthy lay people that had the ability to "invest" in the tools necessary for salvation. Franciscans and Dominicans subsequently shifted their means of support from begging to the performance of religious rites to dovetail with the new lay demands.[29] This 'economy of death' consequently 'revolutionized the relationship between the lay public and the clergy.'[30] Bruzelius argues that it was this new relationship between new religious phenomena and an increasingly wealthy laity that instigated shifts in burial practices, as well as mendicant architecture and urban planning.

Before the thirteenth century, burial inside churches had been a selective activity that was reserved for the nobility, while the rest of the dead were buried outside of churches in the periphery of cities. Burial placement was a status statement: the higher one's status, the closer one was interred to the church altar, where the Eucharist was performed. In other words, salvation was dependent on social prestige. However, the economically dependent Franciscan and Dominican friars only required 'pious donations,' rather than birthrights, to be buried inside their churches.[31] These mendicants thus provided the perfect means for the growth in ability of the

29 Bruzelius, 218.
30 Bruzelius, 210; 218.
31 Bruzelius, 212.

morally anxious gentry population to obtain this 'penitential burial.'[32] This exchange of services, combined with the 'need for burial space,' intensified building activities performed by the mendicants.[33] Unique mendicant religious practices also caused a shift in church architectural and urban planning practices. Franciscans and Dominicans maintained both functionality and simplicity in the architecture of their churches, which dovetailed with their impoverished images.

For example, because these religious houses were constantly under construction, contemporary churchgoers and friars lived in '"a culture of incompletion" in mendicant church architecture.'[34] Another way in which the orders created proper space for worship was to make use of 'older churches whenever possible' due to the economic practicality of "prebuilt" buildings.[35] Bruzelius then argues that the friars kept this motif of functionality when adapting their spaces to the needs of their lay patrons. For example, the walls were used for tomb space. Even when the chapels that filled the side aisles along the nave were adopted by the nobility as privileged tombs, a great deal of space was still left over for gentry and yeoman burial. In fact, the laity's need for urban burial became so great that it led to the 'clearing of land in a constricted site' to serve as cemeteries.[36] With that in mind, not only did the Franciscans and Dominicans influence church architecture, they also played a heavy hand in the shaping of urban spaces in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

That the Franciscans and Dominicans had any influence over the shaping of urban space is a mark of the impact they had on medieval society. Bruzelius thus shows that the building activities of these orders were more than just religious movements—they were intricately connected to contemporary cultural shifts. Although her focus was narrow, Bruzelius's

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32 Bruzelius, 213.
33 Bruzelius, 213; 217.
34 Bruzelius, 215.
35 Bruzelius, 219.
36 Bruzelius, 215.

anlaysis is interdisciplinary. She points out that historical patterns and events are not, and can never be, isolated. They rather must be given equal attention if one wishes to make a proper historical analysis. In exploring the relationship between a number of concurrent social and religious trends, Bruzelius creates a more complex understanding of medieval society. Bruzelius sets an important standard for architectural historians through her interdisciplinary and creative meditation on the complexities of medieval urbanism and religion. Historians of post-Restoration British country houses can easily apply this interdisciplinary, albeit highly focussed, historiographic approach to their own discipline.

Another example of microhistory within the confines of architectural history is a chapter written by James S. Ackerman and Myra Nan Rosenfeld for *Urban Life in Renaissance Urban Planning* entitled 'Social Stratification in Renaissance Urban Planning' (1989).[37] It examines urban planning designs by key Renaissance theorists, Serlio in particular. Adhering to Renaissance principals of social stratification, Serlio designed houses for each social rank in his Book VI. While Serlio designed spectacular palaces for the most elite members of society, he also created a system of housing for the poorest. His ideal provided for all while keeping the social status quo in check.[38] Following Albertian theory, as well as Platonian and Aristotelian theories, Serlio also envisioned urban design to be arranged by rank and activity: city centres would be main thoroughfares populated by artisans and shopkeepers; respectable professions (bankers, goldsmiths, et cetera) would be slightly outside of the centre; respectable artisans (spice merchants, tailors, et cetera) would be a little further off, still; the dirtiest and smelliest professions (like tanners) would be upwind of the periphery of town to the north. This arrangement was meant to help circulate traffic and divide the city by rank.[39]

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37 James S. Ackerman and Myra Nan Rosenfeld, 'Social Stratification in Renaissance Urban Planning,' from Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman, editors, *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989).

38 Ackerman and Rosenfeld, from Zimmerman and Weissman, eds., pp. 22-7.

39 Ackerman and Rosenfeld, from Zimmerman and Weissman, eds., pp. 27-33.

Since class divisions in the Renaissance were actually rather fluid, Ackerman and Rosenfeld argue that the strict hierarchy of the Church may have inspired the ideas of social stratification presented by Serlio and other theorists. Despite their efforts to create a new approach to urbanisation, the realities of Renaissance economic practices meant that these theories were unsuitable for real urban development. Paris and Rome both experienced huge booms during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and both remained highly mixed places.[40] In focussing their research on Renaissance (particularly Serlian) urban theory versus real urban development, Ackerman and Rosenfeld bring to light the need to differentiate between intellectual imagination and reality.

This is an important lesson for historians of post-Restoration British country houses, which so often focusses solely on theory without taking land development, economic factors, building practices, or daily living into account. In regards to Hopetoun, theory definitely played a role in its design. However, it was not the only influencing factor. Bruce also had to take such quotidian, unintellectual matters as daily life and the circulation of traffic into account. Although scholars so often want to see great architects as intellects first and foremost, what made these men so accomplished was their ability to balance their imagination with (luxurious) human behaviour. The very purpose of domestic buildings, after all, is to shelter humans from the elements; wealth simply determines a dwelling's level of comfort. Historians of early American architecture endeavour to explore their subject from this perspective.

The collection of essays compiled in *The Chesapeake House* (2013) by Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury discuss the architecture of colonial Virginia and Maryland.[41] Due to the immense body of scholarship that has focussed on the style of architecture in this region and period (which in turn

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40 Ackerman and Rosenfeld, Zimmermand and Weissman, eds., pp. 36-46.

41 Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury, editors, *The Chesapeake House* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press in association with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2013).

only discusses the buildings associated with key historic figures like Thomas Jefferson or George Washington), *The Chesapeake House* takes a new approach. Using a combination of documentary and archaeological evidence, this book reconstructs how and why buildings were built as they were. Cary Carson sums up the book's purpose perfectly in stating that:

> 'The moral center of our scholarship rests squarely on the conviction that architecture, intentionally or not, gives physical form to the way people treat other people who share their space. It follows that the historical study of architecture reveals how planners and builders have created human environments intended to enforce the social rules that they themselves preferred, while those whom the plans and buildings were thrust upon have often ingeniously subverted this received architecture to their own purposes. In other words, the authors of this book see architecture as an instrument of social politics.'[42]

Furthermore, 'the daily rhythms of people's lives shaped and were shaped by the buildings and landscapes they shared with their housemates.'[43] In essence, this book takes into account the social, cultural, economic, and political backgrounds of the period and region, the local geography and climate, as well as basic human needs, into its architectural analyses. The result is a much more fleshed out and comprehensive understanding of why buildings were built as they were, how they were used, and the impact they had on everyday colonial life in the Chesapeake region. An easy example that can be included in this brief summary is the huge difference between the farmstead of a small planter and the house of a large plantation owner.

Given the fact that Virginia and Maryland were both dominated by the tobacco industry, both colonies were predominantly rural during the colonial period. The majority of the people who farmed the region were the aforementioned small planters, who owned small plots of land and lived in earthfast (short posts acting as foundations), clapboard (hewn lumber) houses. These houses were built cheaply and inexpensively out of wood and were not built to last. Small farmers and their families, as well as indentured

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[42] Cary Carson, 'Architecture as Social History,' from Carson and Lounsbury, eds., p. 12.

[43] Carson, from Carson and Lounsbury, eds, p. 25.

servants/African slaves all lived together in these spaces and worked the farm together.[44]

By contrast, the select few elites of these colonies possessed large tobacco plantations with hundreds, or even thousands, of African slaves. They built large houses out of durable materials—often in a Palladian style—as a symbol of their wealth and political dominance. They could afford to house slaves separately from the main house in mean dwellings designed to fulfil the basic needs of their inhabitants; they were not built with comfort or care in mind. Furthermore, the ugliness of slavery was kept out of sight of the spaces of display.[45] Indeed, the lifestyles of large planters imitated those of their English and Scottish equivalents. Ultimately, *The Chesapeake House* aims to understand colonial society and surrounding events (such as the War for American Independence) just a little bit better. Although a completely different region from Lowland Scotland, the approach to architectural history these scholars use is exactly what this thesis aims to do: to use archival and physical evidence, combined with contextual research, to try and understand why Hopetoun House was designed and built as it was. It also endeavours to explore how it would have been used by the Hope family and its household of servants.

In a similar vein to *The Chesapeake House,* Carl R. Lounsbury's *Essays in Early American Architectural History* (2011) discusses the development of vernacular architecture in colonial (i.e., 1607-1775) North America.[46] Thanks to extensive archaeological work carried out from the 1970s, historians and archaeologists have established that architecture in Virginia (founded in 1607) and Maryland (founded in 1632) evolved from English prototypes to adapt to the particular social, cultural, and daily needs of the Chesapeake region. Regional material and resources (and lack

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44 Carl R Lounsbury, 'The Design Process,' from Carson and Lounsbury, eds., pp. 67-9.

45 Carson, from Carson and Lounsbury, eds., pp. 22-6.

46 Carl R. Lounsbury, *Essays in Early American Architectural History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

thereof) also contributed to this evolution.[47] During the initial years after the colony's founding, Jamestown (the capital) was dominated by a fort filled with earthfast, slight-frame (a fragile frame covered in clay), barrack-like housing. These structures were cheap and easy to produce but were not built to last.[48]

Researches have found that this lack of long-term investment and planning reflects the fact that Jamestown was dominated by disease and starvation in its early years. Once the Virginia Company's focus shifted from trade in metals to the production and export of tobacco, the nature of the colony changed, as well. Virginia became predominantly rural, with farms scattered throughout the colony. Since the tobacco plantation was focussed on the industrial cultivation of a single cash crop, farms were isolated rather than clustered around villages as they were in early modern England. As a consequence of this development, farmers were able to lay down more permanent roots. The typical Virginia farmhouse combined English timber-frame construction with local earth-fast construction to create what came to be known as the "Virginia house."[49] These houses' floor plans were also based on the traditional English ones: they consisted of a hall, used for entertainment, cooking, eating, and servants' housing; and parlour, the principal bedchamber and entertainment space.[50]

The "Virginia house" type evolved to adapt to the increased use of slavery, and the racialisation that accompanied and drove this phenomenon over the course of the seventeenth century. Service areas and offices (the kitchen, slave quarters, the smokehouse, the dairy, et cetera) were driven outside of the main house into separate buildings. The main house itself became increasingly devoted to entertainment and the separate housing of the farmer and his family. Wealthier farmers, known as large planters, experienced these architectural shifts on an even grander level. Not only could they afford to build larger, multi-storey houses out of brick, they could

47 Lounsbury, pp. 24-5, 37.
48 Lounsbury, p. 38-9.
49 Lounsbury, pp. 40-2
50 Lounsbury, p. 53.

afford more single-purpose rooms than their lower-ranking contemporaries. The “polite houses” of large planters were square, T-shaped, or L-shaped and contained a central-cross passage that divided the house in half at the entrance. Surrounded by a dining room, parlour, and principal bedchamber, the cross-passage acted as an entrance hall did in Britain. It directed the flow of traffic and stratified the house between the family, servants, and guests. Service spaces were also located outside and out of view of the main house. This stratification of space coincided with the same phenomenon occurring in England and Scotland.[51]

Lounsbury’s book is an extremely important contribution to the historiography of domestic architecture due to its extensive use of archaeological and documentary evidence. It also takes a unique approach to the subject in that it makes use of sociological (particularly class and race) and everyday (cooking, eating, and sleeping) matters to try and understand why houses were built the way that they were in Virginia and Maryland. Although Lounsbury rarely discusses formal design, he also uses early modern English building practices as a contextual tool in his analysis. To reiterate what has already been stated, this modern historiographical approach can be extremely useful if applied to the historiographic realm of post-Restoration British country houses. The few scholarly sources discussed in this section explain the purpose behind this thesis’s methodology. However, since Hopetoun House is a Scottish country house, more research needed to be done beyond the scope of these sources.

II. Essential Texts for General Scottish History

An important part of the research process for this thesis was gaining a thorough understanding of the social, political, economic, and cultural context for Hopetoun House. Rosalind K Marshall’s masterfully researched book, *The Days of Duchess Anne: Life in the Household of the Duchess of Hamilton, 1656-1716,* for example, is a detailed exploration of the tenure of the Third

[51] Lounsbury, pp. 51-64.

Duchess of Hamilton.[52] Through diligence and sheer intelligence, Duchess Anne and her husband, James, the Duke of Hamilton, revived the Hamilton estate from the brink of collapse after the Civil Wars and resumed their roles as leaders of Scotland. Their building and decorative activities at Hamilton Palace reflected their renewed confidence. Aside from providing valuable historic context for the post-Restoration period in Scotland, this book is remarkably important for its extensive and intricate archival research. Marshall understood that a clear picture of the everyday workings of a prominent estate must be established through many different types of materials. She not only combed through private correspondence, but also through financial and legal records. Using a microhistorical approach, Marshall creates a vivid picture of social life, culture, and politics among the post-Restoration Scottish aristocracy. This book, originally published in 1973, was ahead of its time in that it was interested in both daily activities at Hamilton Palace, as well as the high-level politics with which the Duke and Duchess were intertwined. Marshall's book was an important influence on this thesis. However, not enough credit has yet been given to broad historical surveys. Although they do not go into great detail on single subjects, they are invaluable in supplying readers with well-researched historical backgrounds.

A prime example is Keith M. Brown's *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family, and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (2000, 2004).[53] In it, Brown discusses a broad range of topics in exacting detail within the confines of the social and cultural contexts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scottish aristocracy. It is a quintessential textbook for the social history of early modern Scottish aristocracy (for casual readers and scholars alike). Marriage, children, and family are three major areas of discussion in Keith's book and he takes a sociological approach to the subject. It is first important to note that Scottish law dictated that parents could not force their

[52] Rosalind K. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne: Life in the Household of the Duchess of Hamilton, 1656-1716* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).
[53] Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family, and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000, 2004).

children into an unwanted marriage.[54] As such, men and women were given a much greater degree of freedom as to whom they married than elsewhere in Europe (such as England, France, and the Mediterranean). Nonetheless, the politics of marriage choice played a key role in estate management.

Marriages, which were often planned from infancy or childhood, were contractual agreements to benefit the political and economic standings of the brides' and grooms' families. The most obvious advantage of marriage was that it could consolidate and secure landholdings, which was key to building a prosperous estate. Procreation was also of chief import for the same reason—children would grow up to carry on the family's legacy. Scottish nobles were very successful at procreating.[55] The wealth and resources available to noblewomen induced greater fertility: noblewomen married earlier, were better nourished, and were able to employ wet nurses (the sooner a noblewoman stopped lactating, the sooner she started ovulating).[56] There also, of course, was no birth control. Reproduction was even more important to early modern Scots because miscarriages were common, infant mortality was high, and archaic medical knowledge meant pregnancy and childbirth were great risks to the mother. Lineage was important enough, of course, to supersede these dangers.[57]

Since children would grow up to inherit and continue improving a family's estate, it was therefore key to marry within one's own rank in order to preserve one's material interest and reputation. It was a continuous cycle. However, this was a gendered issue: a woman who married below her rank lost her nobility by law.[58] As highlighted by the writings of John Knox and such practices as male entails and witch hunts, the roles of early modern Scottish wives were viewed as subordinate to those of their husbands (even if, unlike English wives, they were not considered property under Scots law

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54 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* pp. 120-1.
55 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 158.
56 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 159.
57 *Ibid.*
58 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 131.

and held power over moveable property, as well as rights to land and titles).[59] Meanwhile, a man who married below his status was able to keep his rank with an untarnished reputation. This, of course, could be of great benefit to a groom: an impoverish nobleman could marry a rich, untitled heiress and save his family and estate from ruin. Any money and property she brought to the marriage through her tocher (dowrey) automatically became her husband's.[60] If women managed to find any personal agency, it was through circumventing social and cultural norms, as well as legal constraints. The most common example of this was a wife managing her husband's estate while he was away—on top of her expected everyday management of the household. Brown argues that while noblewomen were publicly viewed as subordinate, they often earned the trust, respect, and support of their husbands through these private means.[61] This detailed portion of this book is very important to this thesis.

It goes without saying that Brown's sociological approach to the analysis of early modern Scottish marriage and family establish a clearer understanding of human dynamics as a whole in early modern Scotland. Even though this thesis is set at the turn of the eighteenth century, the patterns identified by Brown are still relevant. The Hopes' rise through the ranks was due in large part to advantageous marriages. James Hope, of course, married Anna Foulis and through her inherited the mines of Leadhills. This marriage was particularly lucky since James Hope was one of Thomas Hope's younger sons and would not reap the same inheritance rewards as his older brothers. In addition, even though John Hope was a minor laird, he managed to marry the higher-ranking Margaret Hamilton, daughter of the Fourth Earl of Haddington. After marrying Henrietta Johnston, the daughter of the Earl of Annandale (soon to be Marquess of Annandale), Charles Hope received the title of Earl of Hopetoun. In other words, without these connections, the Hopes could have easily remained of professional status.

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59 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 138.
60 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* pp. 130-3.
61 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* pp. 140-2.

Female estate management was also of chief importance to the Hopes since John Hope died so suddenly and unexpectedly. Margaret Hope never remarried. Even though a second husband could have brought with him greater wealth and social prestige, her autonomy (and potentially that of the Hopetoun estate) would have been lost. Instead, she continued management herself with the aid of advisors. This, of course, is the topic of the fourth chapter. The human dynamics of the Hope family are inseparable from the patronage and construction of Hopetoun House.

From a historiographic standpoint, *Noble Society in Scotland* is a broad survey; it is not a focussed case study as this thesis aims to be. Furthermore, while Brown's book is very helpful in better understanding the culture of the early modern Scottish elite (a culture whose trends carried into the post-Restoration period), the aristocracy was a very small portion of Scotland's population. Other texts are required to understand the dynamics of Scottish society as a whole. T.M. Devine and J.R. Young compiled a collection of essays in *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspective* (1999) detailing the social, cultural, political, and economic shifts that occurred to the country over the course of the long eighteenth century. The first essay by Richard Seville discusses the state of Scotland's economy during the years leading up to Union.[62] The end of the seventeenth century was a bleak period for Scotland, economically speaking. Even though Scottish leaders had the ambition to become a top European contender, the country lacked the infrastructure to support any grand ventures. Indeed, 'Scotland was a minor, peripheral country, with no colonies, little trading base in the Americas, and no navy; yet it intended to invade and seize territory in Central America which had been under Spanish control for nearly two centuries.'[63] The Company of Scotland purchased the supplies for its ill-fated South American expeditions from abroad, which was a high-cost, inexpedient (albeit necessary, given the

[62] Richard Seville, 'Scottish Modernisation Prior to the Industrial Period, 1668-1763,' from T.M. Devine and J.R. Young, eds., *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (Phantassie, East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 6-23.
[63] Seville, from Devine and Young, eds., p. 12.

state of Scotland's agrarian and manufacturing industries) choice by the company.[64]

The Darien scheme coincided with a series of famines in the 1690s. Since the partners of the Company of Scotland relied on agricultural incomes, they were unable to continue supporting their high-risk venture. Many, as a consequence, went bankrupt. The Scottish economy, meanwhile, was faced with a collapse in purchasing power, the rise of a barter-based economy, bad tax collecting practices, a cash shortage resulting from the use of coin to purchase food and other imports, and the list goes on.[65] Because of famine and rising rates of poverty, Scotland devolved into in-fighting. Many Scots consequently emigrated abroad, bringing with them their skilled trades. To make matters worse, Scottish manufacturing could not compete with higher quality goods produced elsewhere (in England, France, and the Netherlands).[66] In short, the events of the turn of the eighteenth century in Scotland set it up for Union with England in 1707 due to a desire to capitalise on its international market and stronger currency.[67] What is interesting is that the Hope family's fortunes defied this narrative. As will be seen in the fifth chapter, they prospered in spite of these economic hardships. This, of course, raises the question as to whether there were pockets of Scotland that were little or unaffected by—or even benefited from—the collapse of the Darien venture.

In any case, Union did benefit Scotland from an imperial and mercantile perspective. R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte discuss the paradox of how mercantile trade with northern Europe flourished in the seventeenth century while agriculture declined, leaving a greater disparity of wealth between the urban merchant and rural cottar.[68] In addition, Michael Fry's essay in Devine

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64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.*

66 Seville, from Devine and Young, eds., p. 13.

67 Seville, from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 14-7.

68 R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, 'Introduction: Scottish Society in Perspective,' Robert Allen Houston and Ian D. Whyte, editors, *Scottish Society, 1500-1800*, EBook (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-36, https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1017/CBO9780511660252.001.

and Young's book examines the same period as Seville from a more positive perspective. Despite the disastrous 1690s, Scotland's economy became increasingly mercantile over the course of the seventeenth century. James, Duke of York, followed modern mercantilist policies encouraging domestic manufacturing in Scotland and restricting foreign competition. There was a concerted, protectionist effort by the monarchy to create a royal monopoly over corporate law and commercial structures. Profit-minded Scots tried to break away from this system after the Glorious Revolution and achieve a more liberal economy that was not controlled and regulated by the Crown. The founding of the Bank of Scotland in 1696 was a sign of Scots' aim for economic growth. Nevertheless, Scotland had limited exportable resources and too small of a manufacturing industry. Furthermore, the Navigation Acts and London's outright rejection of Scotland's attempts at participation in the global economy were further limits. Nevertheless, the missing link to Scotland becoming a true European contender still was foreign colonisation. The establishment of entrepots would have meant that exotic produce could be cheaply obtained, processed, and exported remotely while Scotland's economy reaped the profits.[69] The Darien Scheme was the culmination of this process, but it was not the first attempt ever made.

For example, a group of Covenanters headed by Henry Erskine, Third Lord Cardross (the grandson of the Second Earl of Mar), attempted to establish the colony of Stuart's Town on the island of Port Royal in South Carolina in the 1680s.[70] It must also be remembered that England made a number of failed attempts at foreign colonisation during Queen Elizabeth I's reign, including the disastrous Roanoke venture (which, mysteriously, had disappeared completely between 1589 and 1590). In short, Scotland experienced the same growing pains that England did a century prior. Unfortunately, many of the Company of Scotland's trade partners

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69 Michael Fry, 'A Commercial Empire: Scotland and British Expansion in the Eighteenth Century,' from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 54-7.

70 Lawrence S Rowland, Alexander Moore, and George C Rogers, Jr, *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina, Volume 1, 1514-1861* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 12, 67-75.

overreached their investment and went bankrupt when the Darien Scheme, which was risky, collapsed. However, Fry argues that Scotland's leaders—the same people who invested in the Company of Scotland—understood that extending a hand to England was ultimately an advantage, not an acceptance of their own defeat.[71] Rather than continue pouring capital into such precarious ventures, they could take advantage of a country that had already survived its growing pains to create one of the most powerful colonial empires in the western world. Furthermore, Scots insisted on economic autonomy, free trade, and access to England's vast empire of entrepots when the Union was established in 1707. In 'entering a mercantilist system on free-trading grounds,' Scotland could finally experience the type of growth that their neighbours enjoyed during the previous century.[72] Scots continued to remain focussed on trade rather than colonisation during the eighteenth century: 'Empire meant to them first and foremost a commercial Empire.'[73]

The rest of Fry's essay deals with the ways in which Scots participated in the global British economy over the course of the eighteenth century.[74] It is well known that Scottish merchants frequently traded with England's North American and Caribbean colonies. A number also moved abroad to try and make a fortune that they could then use to purchase an estate back home. Many ultimately wound up working and advancing within industries based on, supported by, or associated with slavery. Examples include the sugar industry in the West Indies, the rice industry of South Carolina, the tobacco industry of the Chesapeake (or Tidewater) region, or even the slave trade itself. Fry also points out that while many Scots scorned slavery (since it clashed with Enlightenment ideals), they ultimately turned a blind eye for the sake of profits. These themes, it should be noted, are also explored extensively in *Slavery and the British Country House* (2013), *Recovering*

71 Fry, from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 57-8.
72 Fry, from Devine and Young, eds., p. 57.
73 Fry, from Devine and Young, eds., p. 58.
74 Fry, from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 58-65.

Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection (2015), and *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (2016).[75]

Scotland's association with slavery is a new and necessary field of research and is an effective way of contextualising the country's role in Britain's global economy. Although Hopetoun House is not associated with slavery, Fry, Seville, and Houston and Whyte provide an important economic context for Hopetoun's development. Not only were the Hopes the sponsors of one of Scotland's few domestic industries, they also invested in the Company of Scotland. In other words, the Hopes were deeply involved with the economic events of the turn of the eighteenth century. Although they were ultimately unaffected by the collapse of the Darien Scheme (evidenced by the fact that Hopetoun House was commissioned just two years later), it appears that the failure of that colonial venture kept them away from such ventures in the future. However, the Hopes were not isolated from the British economy. As the fifth chapter will explore their financial focus remained in Scotland on the lead and agricultural industries. Indeed, the Second Earl of Hopetoun became one of Scotland's premiere improvers.

Agricultural improvement required a great deal of investment in time and capital because it necessitated transforming Scotland's topography and environment. This, of course, was impossible without the technological and scientific know-how. T.C. Smout explores these themes in another essay of Devine and Young's book.[76] Smout first calls attention to the fact that the shift in an animal-based to an oatmeal-based diet between 1500 and 1750 signals a general decline in living standards in Scotland.[77] It should be noted that Smout, alongside A.J.S. Gibson, explores the correlation between this shift in diet and quality of life extensively in his other scholarly works using

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75 Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann, editors, *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013); T.M. Devine, *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); and.Louis P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

76 T.C. Smout, 'The Improvers and the Scottish Environment: Soils, Bogs and Woods,' from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 210-24.

77 Smout, from Devine and Young, eds., p. 210.

qualitative and quantitative methodologies.[78] The more than doubling of population of 500 thousand in 1500 to 1.25 million in 1750, as well as declining wages between 1650-1750, meant that the economy could not sustain medieval living standards.[79] At the same time, Scotland was experiencing the effects of thousands of years of environmental degradation.

One enormous problem was mass deforestation: even by the Middle Ages, Scotland was only 5% forest. This had huge implications for Scotland's environment at the turn of the eighteenth century. Smout points out that trees capture nitrogen, which is beneficial to soil fertility. By the same token, a lack of trees leaves the atmosphere with an excess of nitrogen, which turns it into an air pollutant that can alter or kill vegetation. In addition, trees also naturally absorb water and release it back into the air. A lack of trees inevitably increases the volume of bodies of water. Finally, a lack of trees, whose roots normally keep soil in place, leads to soil erosion. Combined with the former two phenomena, Scotland undoubtedly experienced a severe change in soil structure, flooding, the development of unhealthy bogs, and the seeping of pollutants into the water and the air. The excess of nitrogen in Scotland's soil and air would have been exacerbated by seasonal fertilisation, as well as human middens.[80]

It is hard to believe that Scotland, which is now one of the world leaders in environmental protection, was once in such a dire state. Lowland agricultural improvers—landowners, as well as their tenants—began to address the agricultural problems that resulted in such dire environmental degradation at the end of the seventeenth century through the consolidation of land and longer leases. However, these were temporary solutions. Liming and the rotational planting of legumes (such as red clover, peas, beans,

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78 A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, editors, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, Ebook (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1017/CBO9780511660252; A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, '2: Scottish Food and Scottish History, 1500-1800,' from (pp. 59-84), from Houston and Whyte, eds., pp. 59-84.

79 Smout, from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 210-1.

80 Smout, from Devine and Young, eds., p. 212-3.

sarfoin, and wild white clover) helped regulate the nitrogen levels of soil. East Lothian in particular took to this system, using a six-course rotation of wheat, peas and beans, barley, sown grass, oats, and a fallow field. By the 1720s, 46% of the parishes in Lanarkshire, 62% of those in Fife, and 71% of those in Angus made use of this system. Potatoes and turnips came to be another important introduction to agricultural and environmental improvement in Scotland; they were also helpful in that they became a key foodstuff. Smout also lists a number of other short-term, regional solutions (such as the use of shell-marl for liming soil or kelp as fertiliser). A much better, albeit much more costly, solution was the draining of bogs. Landowners appreciated having more land available to cultivate. A more important long-term after-effect was that drainage lowered water levels and introduced new minerals to the soil.[81]

In addition to drainage, mass tree-planting programmes were a key aspect of agricultural and environmental improvement. Landowners planted millions of trees from the seventeenth century onwards. In addition to alleviating issues with nitrogen, water, and erosion, they acted as windbreaks in field margins. Of course, landowners saw trees first and foremost as a raw material and as ornamental status statements; they saw their environmental benefit as a minor benefit. Nonetheless, it is clear that the steady improvement of Scotland's agriculture led to the steady improvement of its environment, as well.[82]

In short, whereas Seville and Fry relied primarily on statistics to measure economic changes in Scotland during the long eighteenth century, Smout made use of environmental archaeology to analyse the development of methods of agricultural improvement in Scotland. Such a methodology underscores that it is impossible to understand fully a historical phenomenon without having concrete, physical evidence. The empiricism used by Seville, Fry, and Smout can be and has been applied to architectural historiography. In addition, since the Second Earl of Hopetoun was such an avid improver,

81 Smout, from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 215-9.
82 Smout, from Devine and Young, eds., pp. 219-20.

Smout provides helpful insight into the environmental state that Hopetoun's landholdings were in when he began to invest in their improvement.

Alexander Fenton and I.D. Whyte are two more key sources in this field of study.[83] While Smout's chapter explores how improvement ameliorated Scotland's environment between the early modern period and the start of the nineteenth century, Fenton and Whyte focus on the changes that were made to agricultural practices in Scotland during this period. Farming in pre-improvement Scotland was a very communal activity. Fermtouns, in which a group of tenants collectively worked a single farm, were the most common settlement pattern across medieval and early modern Scotland.[84] These small settlements were either leased to tenants by the landowner or to subtenants by the tenant. In an effort to keep the division of labour and cultivation organised and fair, these communal farms were divided into strips of field called runrig, in which ridges were used for planting and deep furrows were used for drainage.[85] These strips were also not enclosed and instead took the form of the infield-outfield system.[86]

Comprised of the better-quality land, the infield was divided into four sections in more fertile areas of Scotland (such as East Lothian); each would be used to cultivate wheat, barley, pease, and oats.[87] Each field was also used every season and was necessarily well-fertilised (with animal dung from the byres, middens, and dovecote) to counter soil exhaustion; crop-rotation and fallow years were not incorporated into this system.[88] The outfield, which consisted of poorer-quality land, was often used as common ground for

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83 Alexander Fenton, *Scottish Country Life*, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1976; Alexander Fenton and Kenneth Veitch, eds., *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology* (Edinburgh: John Donald, an Imprint of Birlinn Ltd, in association with the European Ethnological Research Centre, 2011); Ian Whyte, *Edinburgh & the Borders: Landscape Heritage* (Newton Abbot, Devon: Charles & David, 1990).

84 Whyte, *Edinburgh & the Borders*, p. 47.

85 Piers Dixon, 'Rural Settlement in the Pre-Improvement Lowlands,' Fenton and Veitch, eds., p. 89.

86 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life*, p. 11; Whyte, *Edinburgh & the Borders,* p. 59.

87 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 11; John Hamilton, Lord Belhaven, *The Country-Man's Rudiments or, An Advice to the Farmers in East-Lothian how to Labour and Improve Their Ground* (Edinburgh, 1713), p. 5, reproduction from Bodleian Library (Oxford).

88 *Ibid.*

grazing and was sometimes left to lie fallow.[89] Although it started to be phased out in the late seventeenth century by forward-thinking land improvers, the runrig system lasted well into the eighteenth century. Lord Belhaven's short treatise, *The country-man's rudiments* (1713), details how tenants and gentlemen farmers alike could take the first steps towards improvement through: a rudimentary, yet properly organised, system of crop rotation and fallow years; the proper preparation and treatment of infield and outfield soil and subsequently the equal use of these fields; longer tenancy leases; better liming practices; better ploughing methods (straight and even rather than haphazard and crooked); field enclosure and the consolidation of communal farms; and the cultivation of potatoes and turnips.[90] Both authors agree that improvement ultimately had a positive impact on the income of venturesome landowners and their lucky tenants (the displacement of many tenants, which led to mass emigration, cannot be ignored). There is further scholarship exploring how improvement impacted the lives of common Scots.

In *Parish Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: A Review of the Old Statistical Account* (1995), Maisie Steven uses the Old Statistical Account to examine the changes that occurred to regional lifestyles across Scotland during the eighteenth century.[91] For example, there was a major shift in fashion in which low- and high-ranking Highlanders sought to emulate their Lowland neighbours, who followed the latest fashions from London. An exponential increase in imported textiles that made better quality clothing more affordable, combined with the 1745 ban of Highland dress, meant that more people were able to dress according to modern fashion. Even daily labourers came to be able to afford once unobtainable luxuries, such as ribbons. Regional dress in Scotland reflected the country's greater participation in the global market and economy.[92]

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89 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* pp. 12-3; Lord Belhaven, p. 5.
90 Lord Belhaven, pp. 6-12, 16-26, 31-2
91 Maisie Steven, *Parish Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: A Review of the Old Statistical Account* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995).
92 Steven, pp. 4-6.

Steven goes on to discuss the improvements in housing standards that took place between 1745 and the turn of the nineteenth century. While the country's most impoverished continued to live in drystone hovels, agricultural improvement led to tenants being able to afford to hire masons to build neat houses out of stone and mortar. This phenomenon, of course, depended on the region. Since agricultural improvement was much more common in the Lowlands, the standard of living generally improved there during the eighteenth century. Conversely, many in the Highlands continued living with their livestock in single-storey dwellings built out of drystone with turf roofs tied down with hemp rope, packed-earth floors, and no fireplace. Wealthy Highland families were able to introduce higher living standards through model villages in places, particularly centres of industry (such as coal or herring). However, this was the exception, not the norm.[93]

Another method Steven used to measure Scottish living standards was the accessibility of commodities and quality of diet. For example, meat and tea were expensive luxuries during the first half of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, even those that could afford to eat meat regularly were hamstrung by the seasons. The wealthy could eat fresh lamb and mutton in summer and autumn. However, even the gentry were only able to afford to slaughter cattle on Martinmas; salting was used to preserve the meat for the winter. Fresh meat in the wintertime was the height of luxury. Other additions to the gentry diet were strong beer, fish, eggs, and tea. By contrast, the cottar diet was monotonous, depending on cereals, dairy, and vegetables (kale, turnips, carrots, and onions), with the occasional addition of cheese, eggs, fish (in coastal areas), and potatoes. Meat was a rarity. Due to the variation in agricultural industries from region to region, those dominated by livestock meant some cottars did have better access to meat. The area around Crieff in Perthshire, for example, was devoted to cattle. Cottars living in this area could therefore have eaten meat during the winter. Once again, however, this was the exception in Scotland.[94]

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93 Steven, pp. 8-11.
94 Steven, pp. 12, 14, 20-1.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, tea drinking became common and more people were able to afford meat—even if the average Scot still relied on the aforementioned diet. Indeed, there remained a huge disparity between the lifestyles of the impoverished and the affluent and not every region of Scotland had access to modern-style consumerism. Furthermore, Scotland's economic growth was easily hampered by war, bad harvests, and other factors that directly affected the lifestyles of even the moderately affluent. Crop failures from 1782-3 greatly affected agricultural tenants and daily labourers. In addition to suffering through famine, those with harsh landlords were left homeless when their tenancies were seized as payment. This, of course, led to the mass emigration of tenants. Despite these setbacks, the general diet of Scots greatly improved over the course of the eighteenth century, particularly in prosperous regions.[95] This summary has shown that Steven's methodology is a broad survey, which is not what this thesis aims to achieve. Nonetheless, Steven uses qualitative and quantitative analyses to illustrate the general living standards of the average Scot at the start of the eighteenth century.

Important to this thesis is the fact that scholars have already begun using the above type of scholarship to examine both the impact that improvement and industrialisation had on eighteenth century estates and the impact that enterprising landlords had on the Scottish economy. For example, Margaret Stewart's book, *The Architectural, Landscape and Constitutional Plans of the Earl of Mar, 1700-32* (2016), discusses the influence that the Sixth Earl of Mar had on landscape design in the first decades of the eighteenth century.[96] Although Mar was inspired by the propagandistic landscapes of Louis XIV, his landscapes were not mere Versailles-in-miniature. An important aspect of his style was a focus on the Scottish Historical Landscape, a design tool in which local monuments

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95 Steven, pp. 21-5.

96 Margaret Stewart, *The Architectural, Landscape and Constitutional Plans of the Earl of Mar, 1700-32* (Portland, Oregon: Four Courts Press, Ltd, 2016).

(natural or manmade) were incorporated into a house's overall landscape design.

This was intended to create a continuum between ancient and modern Scots, to inspire contemplation over nationhood in its viewers, and to showcase the patriotic pride of the landscape's inheritors. Industrialisation and productivity were also important to Mar's landscape designs. Since economic growth in Scotland was stagnant at the turn of the eighteenth century (due to the reasons listed above), it was up to individual landowners to dig themselves and their country out of financial woes. One result was the Act of Union of 1707; the other was estate improvement. Stewart discusses these trends within the most famous of Scotland's landscapes, focussing particularly on Alloa. Her microhistorical perspective is very helpful in regards to this thesis's discussion of the design of Hopetoun's landscape. Stewart's is an interdisciplinary book that looks at economic, industrial, landscape, and architectural history in particular in order to understand Mar's genius better.

However, landscapes were not solely viewed from the perspective of profit: they were also used for entertainment. One key pastime for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish nobility was hunting. Another area covered by Keith M. Brown in his extensive book is the leisure activities that were popular amongst early modern Scots, hunting in particular. Since noblemen were supposed to be successful in war and government, they were given a liberal arts education to prepare them for these endeavours. This style of education meant that there was 'no artificial distinction between the cultivation of the mind and the exercise of the body.'[97] One of the most popular aristocratic sports was, of course, the country sport of hunting. As it was elsewhere in Europe, this sport was a quintessential symbol of aristocratic status in Scotland.

Hunting was a very expensive sport because it required the ownership of land, as well as trained horses, dogs, and birds of prey. In addition to

97 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 203.

being supremely expensive, hunting was the ideal sport because it displayed one's athletic prowess on the field, as well as good horsemanship. Both were meant as direct symbols of a nobleman's readiness for the battlefield. Furthermore, trips always ended with extravagant banquets with the prized game featured as the centre of the feast. Feasting, of course, added to the expense of hunting trips. However, the importance of hunting went beyond simply being an opportunity to showcase one's status. Since hospitality played such an important role in Scottish aristocratic culture—and aristocrats certainly travelled from estate to estate on hunting trips—the sport was also intertwined with early modern customs of sociability. Hunting continued to be a quintessential component of aristocracy well into the nineteenth century, making it an important aspect of this thesis.[98]

Brown's was not the only text used for background context on hunting but finding adequate sources proved a difficult task. Unfortunately, there is not a great deal of scholarly material on hunting during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The few historical texts that do exist on hunting pertain to the medieval period. Even Brown's analysis only concentrates on the early modern period and is simply too brief to provide a thorough overview. As such, even though it focusses on hunting in England, Emma Griffin's exhaustive book, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (2007), has been a key source of historical context for this thesis.[99] Griffin, of course, discusses the social and cultural significance of hunting in seventeenth-century England (including the pre-Civil War, Cromwellian, and post-Restoration eras) like Brown did in *Noble Society in Scotland.* However, she goes well beyond Brown in discussing the legal aspects of the sport, as well as the shifts that occurred in preferred game and in how the sport was practiced. Her methodology was very influential on how this thesis approached this topic in chapter seven. The research conducted for this thesis did not end here.

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98 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* pp. 203, 211-215.

99 Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

III. Essential Texts on Architectural History

a. Scottish Architecture

As much as this thesis focusses on the functional, everyday aspects of country house architecture, a solid understanding of early modern and post-Restoration architectural theory is still essential. One area of architectural theory covered by this thesis is the development of Scottish classicism during the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. One has to be careful in choosing sources for this type of research since traditional British historiography has a pedantic, patronising view of Scottish classicism. Giles Worsley's *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* discusses the general growth in popularity of classical architecture—not just Palladianism—in Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[100] He discusses in particular the influence that Sir Roger Pratt, Robert Hook, and others had on the theoretical design of post-Restoration English country houses. He argues that Pratt's architecture shows that there was an interest in austere classicism before the advent of Burlington's circle.[101]

Despite this clever observation, his review of Scottish classicism—relegated to just a few pages out of his huge tome—was Anglo-centric. He states that Bruce had only travelled to England in his lifetime (and England was therefore Bruce's primary source of inspiration), when Bruce and later his son had actually travelled extensively throughout the Continent. He paints Scotland's seventeenth-century aristocracy as poor yokels when there were, in fact, numerous peers who had the wherewithal to obtain a classical education. Although he admits that the reason that many Scots preferred to renovate their ancient tower houses (rather than build from scratch) was because it was considered prestigious to own an ancient dwelling, he saw that as a sign of their ignorance of (English) classicism. He calls the truly

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100 Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (London: Yale University Press, for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995).

101 Worsley, pp. 65-84.

classical houses in Scotland (Moncreiffe House, for example) Jonesian rather than attributing their designs to the excellence of Sir William Bruce and his contemporaries. Although Worsley is a reliable source for English architecture, his review of Scottish architecture is dated and relies on English stereotypes rather than research of Scottish historical context.[102]

Fortunately, there are plenty of reliable reviews of Scottish architecture. Even though Keith M. Brown gives a good summary of the philosophical and stylistic significance of the castle in early modern Scotland, it is very brief.[103] Charles McKean provides a thorough overview of this topic in *The Scottish Chateau: The Country House of Renaissance Scotland* (2001).[104] Scotland experienced a key socio-political shift starting at the end of the sixteenth century, with James VI displacing the ancient nobility for government posts in favour of minor lairds and professionals.[105] This new crop of aristocrats built country houses in order to affirm their status. These commissions included such houses as Tyninghame House, Culross Abbey House, and Argyll Lodging. McKean argues that one of the standouts was Pinkie House, a suburban villa built by the highly educated humanist, Alexander Seton. It was intended to exemplify 'the qualities of the simple rural life advocated by Horace in contrast to a weariness with the world at Court.'[106] In addition to building anew like Seton did with Pinkie, old houses could be modernised: smaller rooms could be dismantled to create bigger rooms; windows could be enlarged to allow in more light.[107] The Master of Works in this period, William Schaw, was a proponent of combining modern 'European formality' with traditional Scottish building methods.[108] Modernising the Scottish tower-house, in other words, was the latest and best way to showcase one's status.

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102 Worsley, pp. 153-9.
103 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* pp. 203-10.
104 Charles McKean, *The Scottish Chateau: The Country House of Renaissance Scotland* (Phoenix Mill, Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001).
105 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* pp. 183-89.
106 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* p. 188.
107 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* p. 190.
108 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* p. 192.

It is true that country houses became increasingly formalised during James VI and Charles I's reigns—particularly with the introduction of basic classical architectural motifs.[109] At the same time, the modernised country house was more comfortable, accommodating, and hospitable. The gallery, for example, became an essential component of the Jacobean country house. Its function was to provide indoor space for promenading. If oriented to face the garden, the gallery could provide pretty views, as well as capture sunlight and provide the room with much needed warmth (particularly in the winter months). These new country houses also had more guest accommodations, as well as lower ceilings and more backstairs. Not only could more people visit comfortably, these houses were warmer, easier to navigate, and increasingly private. At the same time that these formal spaces of varying degrees of privacy began to appear in country house designs, servants became increasingly siphoned away into separate, distinct service areas (such as the laigh hall).[110] In general, Jacobean country houses were more comfortable and had a greater degree of privacy for family and guests than they had been in the past.[111] The functions of the inner and outer courtyards of these houses also became more elevated. No longer were they merely spaces of labour—they now had to be ennobling and grand in order to reflect the owner's social status. Walled gardens and orchards were important in the same way: buying, planting, and maintaining exotic plants and fruits showcased an owner's wealth and sophistication. However, building changed dramatically with the outbreak of the Civil Wars.

Although the Earl of Traquair was able to modernise Traquair House and James Wallace renovated House of Auchens in the 1640s, building activities otherwise ceased during the period of the Civil Wars.[112] This pattern largely continued during the Cromwellian regime due in large part to the collapse and/or exile of Scotland's ancient aristocracy. Minor lairds—such as

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109 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* p. 193.
110 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* p. 197.
111 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* p. 189.
112 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* pp. 237-8.

James Hope—did not face the same level of tumult and were able to concentrate on rebuilding and expanding their estates. McKean cites Thomas Stewart of Coltness in Lanarkshire as a prime example.[113] His improvements are characterised as more focussed on convenience and hospitality rather than aesthetics.[114] Building activities and fashions changed dramatically again after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Compact and symmetrical planning and exteriors—whether classical or baronial—and spaces stratified between the noble family and their servants (formal planning) became essential characteristics of post-Restoration country houses.[115] The choice between classical and baronial styles reflects the preoccupation of post-Restoration aristocrats with filial piety: patrons wanted fashionable and comfortable houses but had no desire to abandon their ancestral seats. Thirlestane, which retained its castellated appearance but was partially rebuilt to contain a modern formal apartment and state apartment, is a prime example of the happy medium landed on by patrons and architects.[116] The same style of renovation also occurred at Glamis. Charles Wemyss has since elaborated on this narrative.

Charles Wemyss's book, *The Noble Houses of Scotland* (2014), is particularly helpful because it makes case studies for a variety of key Scottish country houses during the post-Restoration period.[117] This methodology shows the development and evolution of post-Restoration architecture in Scotland; classical and baronial architecture competed to be the dominant style throughout this period. Many of the conclusions he drew here echoed those from an earlier article, 'Image and Architecture: A Fresh Approach to Sir William Bruce and the Scottish Country House' (2012).[118] This article

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113 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* pp. 239-40.
114 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* p. 242.
115 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* pp. 242-5.
116 McKean, *The Scottish Chateau,* pp. 247-50.
117 Charles Wemyss, *The Noble Houses of Scotland, 1660-1880* (London: Prestel Verlag: 2014), particularly pp. 71-265.
118 Charles Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture: A Fresh Approach to Sir William Bruce and the Scottish Country House,' *Architectural Heritage* 23 (2012): pp. 117-132, https://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=a6e24cdf-d5d1-409b-b699-eb1d614edef6%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4108.

specifically analyses Bruce's significance to post-Restoration Scottish architecture and the development of Scottish classicism. He first reminds the reader that even though austere classicism grew increasingly popular following the Restoration in 1660, the traditional form of the tower-house remained ingrained in Scottish taste. Both housing types were concurrent in post-Restoration architecture.[119]

James Smith designed Drumlanrig Castle (which appeared in the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*), as well as classical country houses (Dalkeith Palace and Hamilton Palace) and villas (Melville House and Newhailes House). Sir William Bruce renovated and modernised Kinnaird, Balcaskie, and Thirlestane, yet also built classical houses like Hopetoun, Craigiehall, and Kinross. Wemyss's goal is to try to figure out how this phenomenon came to be. James VI's departure for London in 1603, which essentially meant the permanent removal of the monarchy from Scotland, resulted in a power vacuum in Edinburgh during the seventeenth century (excluding Cromwellian occupation in the 1650s). Scotland instead came to be managed by a group of supporters of whichever king was in power. With the Restoration of Charles II to the monarchy in 1660 came the rise of Lauderdale as the de facto ruler of Scotland. It was then Lauderdale who selected men to fill government ranks: some came from ancient families while others were self-made men.[120]

The latter group, in order to affirm their place amongst Scotland's government elite, clamored to buy up landed estates and build country houses. Patrons from ancient families, meanwhile, renovated their houses to make them more comfortable (and in keeping with the latest aristocratic lifestyle). Wemyss thus theorises that Scotland was much like France: the division between 'the reformed dynastic seat' and modern, classical country houses was founded on the division between old and new nobility (*noblesse*

119 Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture,' pp. 117-9.
120 Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture,' pp. 121-2.

d'epée and *noblesse de robe*).[121] While the *nouveaux riches* built estates and country houses anew, members of the old families still had the ancient (albeit updated) seats that showcased their lineage and place in Scottish history. Some managed to find a medium between these two styles of building. Bruce infamously overstepped social decorum in purchasing the estate of Loch Levan Castle (through scandalous opportunism) from the Douglas family, who had owned the lands since the fourteenth century. Bruce then proceeded to plop Kinross House in front of the ancient and historic castle that had once imprisoned Mary, Queen of Scots. He used architecture and landscaping to tell his peers that he, a member of a minor branch of the Bruce family, had arrived on the scene as a powerful and influential aristocrat.[122]

In short, Bruce 'had imposed upon another family's lineage.'[123] Wemyss cleverly compares Bruce to his ambitious contemporary, Nicolas Fouquet, the patron of Vaux-le-Vicomte. Coincidentally, Bruce experienced a very similar fall from grace as Fouquet.[124] Wemyss's essay is important to this thesis in two ways. First of all, the Hopes fell into the *noblesse de robe* group of nobles. They were industrialists whose wealth and rank grew exponentially over the course of the seventeenth century. Hopetoun House and the Hopes' continuous purchase of landed estates across the Lowlands are both symbols of their ambition. Furthermore, Wemyss's analysis of Bruce and the origins of Kinross are key since Bruce designed Hopetoun House (and since Kinross was an important source in Hopetoun's design). Architectural style in Scotland clearly echoes social, political, and economic paradigms of the period. McKean's and Wemyss's overviews were invaluable to the development of this thesis's analysis of Hopetoun House.

However, the fact that these books were mainly concerned with matters of style was limiting since so much of this thesis is concerned with the

121 Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture,' pp. 118-9.
122 Wemyss, 'Image and Architecutre, pp. 122-6.
123 Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture,' p. 126.
124 Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture,' p. 127.

practical, everyday elements of architecture. Annette Carruthers compiled a collection of essays in *The Scottish Home* (1996), which each discussed the evolution in design and function of a room type in Scottish houses from the sixteenth century to the twentieth.[125] The chapters on the kitchen (Annette Carruthers, chapter four), the hall and lobby (David Jones, chapter five), the dining room (Ian Gow, chapter six), and the drawing room (Juliet Kinchin, chapter seven) provide invaluable insight into the daily activities of elite Scottish households at the turn of the eighteenth century.[126]

This book's unique approach to domestic architecture underscores the fact that a country house was not only intended to act as a stylistic, aesthetic statement, nor was it only meant to be a monument to the owner and his/her family. It also had to be designed to accommodate the aristocratic lifestyle, as well as very large households. In other words, human activities occurred alongside the political and economic hustle and bustle of the country house. The domestic activities of the country house were endless but two of the key ones were cooking and cleaning. In addition to feeding the family, a country house's cooks had to feed the many servants who supported the family. Launderers kept precious linens and woolens clean for the family and servants alike. A country house also had to provide plenty of sleeping accommodation. McKean's essay, 'Galleries, Girnals, Yards and the Woman House: The Ancillary Structures of the Renaissance Country House in Scotland,' is similarly important in the way that it discusses the value of the country house's supplementary offices.

Carruthers's book and McKean's article are all the more important because there simply is not a great deal of scholarly sources available regarding these spaces in architectural historiography. Michael Olmert's book, *Kitchens, Smokehouses, and Privies: Outbuildings and the*

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125 Annette Carruthers, ed., *The Scottish Home* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing, 1996)

126 Annette Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., pp. 83-104; David Jones, 'The Hall and Lobby,' from Carruthers, ed., pp. 105-24; Ian Gow, 'The Dining Room,' from Carruthers, ed., pp. 125-54; Juliet Kinchin, 'The Drawing Room,' from Carruthers, ed., pp. 155-80.

Architecture of Daily Life in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic (2009) focusses on the same types of spaces. However, since it deals with daily living in colonial Virginia and Maryland, it is not a helpful addition to the discussion of the lifestyle of a post-Restoration Scottish aristocrat.[127] Since this thesis is very much concerned with how Hopetoun House would have been designed to function on a day-to-day basis, both Carruthers's and McKean's are essential sources. However, post-Restoration Scottish country houses were not just influenced by everyday life and traditional taste for the castle style. The influence that foreign architecture (such as English, Dutch, French, and Italian sources) had on post-Restoration Scottish planning and classicism cannot be ignored.

b. English Architecture

It is important to know and understand the development of English domestic architecture because it is Scotland's closest neighbour and the only one with which it shares a land border. Even though Scottish architecture is distinctly its own, the two countries surely exchanged ideas—particularly after the Union of the Crowns meant that more Scots travelled to London for political and economic business. A collection of essays by Rudolf Wittkower were posthumously compiled into a volume, *Palladio and English Palladianism* (1974), by his wife, Margot Wittkower.[128] While the first three essays discuss Palladio's architecture, the remaining ten discuss the development of English architectural theory from the sixteenth century and English Palladianism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. John Shute, who travelled to Italy under the patronage of the Duke of Northumberland in 1550, introduced (Italian) architectural theory with his *First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563).[129] Inigo Jones, who travelled to England in 1601 and 1613-4 and studied under Scamozzi, was responsible

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127 Michael Olmert, *Kitchens, Smokehouses, and Privies: Outbuildings and the Architecture of Daily Life in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

128 Rudolf Wittkower, *The Collected Essays of Rudolf Wittkower: Palladio and English Palladianism* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

129 Wittkower, p. 73.

for the introduction of Palladian classicism to England during the reign of James VI and I. Jones intricately studied Vitruvius, the most important Italian treatises (particularly Alberti and Palladio), as well as the works of such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.[130] In addition, Jones followed in the footsteps of the Renaissance greats by rooting his style in mathematical proportions (one "module" measuring the diameter of a capital). Wittkower states that this was a 'rational mathematical interpretation of beauty which implied that every part in a building was an organic whole, completely definable in terms of metrical relationship.'[131] This mathematical approach manifested in such designs as the Queen's House in Greenwich and the Banqueting Hall.

According to Wittkower, the Civil Wars halted any further development of Palladianism until the rise of Burlington and his circle. The flurry of post-Restoration building activity—a phenomenon shared by both England and Scotland—was not strictly devoted to Palladian theory and so is seen as a gap between Jones and Burlington. His evidence for this comes from the sore lack (both in volume and quality) of English publications (translations of Italian treatises and original treatises) during the post-Restoration period.[132] Since Wittkower remains such an important authority, his literature is an important foundation resource for 21st-century historians. Nevertheless, his work is dated. Not only is his focus rooted in English (particularly southern) buildings, his rhetoric is composed in such a way as to make Palladianism into the best and truest form of classical architecture. This is a limiting way for any historian to work. As such, he can no longer act as the quintessential guide to this subject area.

Robert Tavernor's book, *Palladio and Palladianism* (1991), is another important but dated work on Palladiansm that studies the development of Palladianism in England and British North America in great detail.[133] In a

130 Wittkower, pp. 62-4.
131 Wittkower, p. 64.
132 Wittkower, pp. 95-112.
133 Robert Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

similar vein to Wittkower, Tavernor discusses Jones' development of his own proportional system rooted in harmonic ratios.[134] Tavernor also points out that classicism was associated first with the mighty Roman Empire and the birth of Christianity, and secondly with Italy, the cultural centre of Europe.[135] As such, Jones's appropriation of *all'antica* architecture for the Stuart court acted as an affirmation of James VI's and I's (and later Charles I's) monarchical and divine authority.[136] The breakout of the Civil Wars in 1642 effectively ended Jones's career except for a few side projects until his death in 1652. Building activity was rare during the Cromwellian regime. He paints this moment as the death knell of Jonesian architecture.[137]

Although building swelled after the Restoration in 1660, Tavernor states that, with the rise of Sir Christopher Wren and the displacement of Jones's successor, John Webb, English architectural taste shifted towards what is now called English Baroque. Wren was not as concerned with the strict adherence to Vitruvian classicism as he was modernising England's Gothic architecture. Indeed, he applied an extensive architectural vocabulary to traditional English building forms. Tavernor associates this architectural period with the Tories.[138] He also associates the rise of the Neo-Palladians under the leadership of Lord Burlington (and the help of Colen Campbell) with the rise of the Whigs, the Age of Reason, and a Lockeian world-view. Tavernor states that the Founding Fathers of the United States of America were the continuers of Burlingtonian Palladianism.[139] Thomas Jefferson (who was the third US president from 1801-1809), in particular, married Palladianism with his republican ideals in his architectural designs (including his own house, Monticello).[140]

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134 Tavernor, pp. 129-42.
135 Tavernor, p. 121.
136 Tavernor, pp. 138-42.
137 Tavernor, p. 145.
138 Tavernor, pp. 147-50.
139 Tavernor, pp. 165-80.
140 Tavernor, pp. 181-209.

Unfortunately, there are very problematic holes in Tavernor's narrative. Less relevant to this thesis is the fact that Tavernor completely ignores the social realities of Jeffersonian America: that his republican ideals were built on the backs of slave labour and his ideals were accessible to a very select group of individuals (landowning men but no women, landless men, or African slaves). Numerous resources are available discussing this issue but only a few will be listed here: Nancy Isenberg explores these realities in *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* (2016); Woody Holton in *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (1999); and Lucia Stanton in *Those Who Labor for My Happiness": Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello*.[141] Although these are all relatively recent publications, there has been scholarly interest in the role that slavery played in colonial America since at least the 1970s. Tavernor's whitewashing (conscious or not) of these dark realities points to the great import of having a thorough understanding of the historical background of a house, architectural style, and/or architect.

Returning to the topic at hand, one major issue is that Tavernor spends only six pages on the post-Restoration period and 88 pages on Jones (the first half of the sixteenth century) and Neopalladianism (Colen Campbell onwards). The only post-Restoration examples he gives are Wilton House and some churches by Wren, which do not characterise this rich building period in the least. Even if his book was meant to focus on English Palladianism, it seems a shame to leave such a large chronological gap. It is quite clear which architectural style Tavernor values. Furthermore, Tavernor's discussion adheres to the classic axiom of "Tories liked Baroque and Whigs liked Palladiansim." While it is true that Campbell looked down upon the architecture of Wren and his followers, they were not the only

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141 Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* (London: Penguin Books, 2017); Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Lucia Stanton, "*Those Who Labor for My Happiness": Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

people building during the post-Restoration period. Coleshill House, Clarendon House (both by Sir Roger Pratt), Belton House (by William Winde), and other contemporary examples were all built in an austere classical style (even if they were not strictly Vitruvio-Palladian). The Third Earl of Carlisle, a powerful Whig, recruited Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor (both derided by Campbell) to build Castle Howard barely a decade after Belton House was constructed.

The architectural tastes of post-Restoration England were clearly more complex than this common narrative, which was repeated by James Stevens Curl (*Georgian Architecture in the British Isles: 1714-1830,* 1993, republished 2011).[142] Although there certainly did seem to be a political correlation between the two schools of classicism, they were not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, Tavernor's (and Curl's) narrative completely ignores Scottish classicism, which was its own complex blend of Vitruvio-Palladian theory, Early Modern French and Italian theory, and modern architectural practices. In addition to providing important historical context, Tavernor's book does show that English Palladianism was and is an extremely complex style. However, Palladianism was not the only popular architectural style in post-Restoration England and needs to be viewed from a broader context than the customary "Whig v Tory" outlook.

John Harris's book, *The Design of the English Country House: 1620-1920* (1985), provides good (and less biased) context for the *general* development and evolution of the country house in England.[143] Importantly, the country house as it is known today did not exist in medieval England. Instead, England's most powerful families lived in fortified houses and castles, which Harris describes as the secular version of religious monasteries. As early as the mid-fifteenth century, England's country

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142 James Stevens Curl, *Georgian Architecture in the British Isles: 1714-1830* (Swindon: Historic England Publishing, 1993, 2011), particularly pp. 12, 22-53.

143 John Harris, *The Design of the English Country House: 1620-1920* (London: Trefoil Books, 1985).

dwellings began to lose their defensive purposes thanks to settlement and security in the countryside. By 1500, the political zeitgeist had shifted away from the splintered chaos of individual family houses towards an increasingly centralised monarchy (this coincides with the end of the War of the Roses and the rise of the Tudors). Aristocrats became courtiers who were financially and politically dependent on the Crown. Defensive dwellings became obsolete after 1540. Builders instead wanted comfortable dwellings situated at the centre of agricultural estates. This occurred almost concurrently with the same shifts seen in Scotland, France, and the Italian peninsula. The Dissolution, of course, played an enormous role in private landholding in sixteenth-century England. These changes also affected the role, status, and expected image of an English courtier. No longer preoccupied with war, they received classical educations and became engaged with the intellectual phenomena of the Continent; this extended to architecture. Although they were aware of Serlio (who was published extensively during the 1530s-60s), English courtiers preferred Flemish and French treatises such as those by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau and Philibert de l'Orme.[144]

Symmetry became a quintessential feature of the exteriors and gardens of Tudor, Elizabethan, and Jacobean English country houses even if their interiors remained unbalanced. The floor plan of sixteenth-century country houses retained the room types of their medieval predecessors: great halls, the social and ceremonial centres of the house; the great chamber, a more private reception and living room one floor above the great hall; a parlour, an even more private reception room; and a gallery, which was another public social space. These were the predecessors of the entrance halls, salons/saloons, dining rooms, withdrawing rooms, antechambers, bedchambers, and closets of post-Restoration country houses. Staircases also evolved from turnpike stairs to grander and more centralised ones during this period (in thanks, no doubt, to Chambord). Harris rightly notes that English architecture in this period was closer to what could be found in North

144 Harris, 9-10.

Germany, Denmark, France, and the Low Countries; he does not compare it to Renaissance Italy. Although Inigo Jones's importation of Palladianism was very important to the history of English architecture, Harris repeats that this was the exception rather than the rule after 1620. Only the highest-status builders managed to have classicism applied to their houses—and those examples (Raynham Hall and Woburn Abbey) were few in number. Although it has an Italianate loggia, the Jacobean Easthampstead Lodge was built as late as 1626. Harris stresses that what was truly important for this period was the vast improvements made to the building trades, which ultimately made country houses more comfortable and better built.[145]

The Cromwellian period generally put a stop to high-calibre building projects since most aristocrats had fled; those who remained kept a low profile. Sir Roger Pratt was the exception. He toured France and Italy and had studied Jones's designs and subsequently began Coleshill House for his son, Sir George Pratt, in 1650. Colehill was a two-storey double-pile with rhythmically spaced bays (three-two-three pattern). The windows of each storey, including the dormers, were kept in a single line. The cupola fit well above the central line of windows and dormer. The middle three bays were a subtle acknowledgement of the two-storey entrance hall. This room was followed by a great parlour and dining chamber stacked on top of each other. More innovative still was that he placed the main staircase in the hall with a gallery on the first storey. Spine corridors split the double pile plan at the left and right. Sir Roger Pratt did not build again until after the Restoration when he built Kingston Langley, Horseheath, and Clarendon. Kingston Langley and Horseheath were only slightly modified versions of Coleshill.[146]

Pratt's designs were hugely influential on post-Restoration English country house design, as seen with such well known examples as Melton Constable and Belton House. The post-Restoration period also brought the return of aristocrats from abroad and with it the architectural influences from

145 Harris, pp. 10-16, 25.
146 Harris, pp. 25-6.

their refuges. For example, Hugh May's designs were Dutch and French in influence and William Samwell's, William Talman's, and Robert Hooke's were French. Harris notes that Sir Christopher Wren only built two country houses in this period and subsequently called into question the role he played in the development of post-Restoration English country houses. Since Wren was tied up with his many projects in London and was not altogether that interested in designing country houses, this is a fair question to ask. May, Samwell, Hooke, and Talman should therefore be considered as greater influences on country house design in this period.[147]

William Talman in particular bridged the gap from Sir Roger Pratt to Vanbrugh. Talman designed England's first giant order on a façade for Chatsworth. In addition to giant orders, English Baroque came to be characterised by massive scale, blocked and rusticated windows, as well as wall rustication. English country houses also came to be affected by Baroque planning, such as through corridor planning and columnar screens. Harris also describes the concern over the relationship between the main block and its offices, which were often linked together by arcades or colonnades, as a Baroque feature. It should be noted that this certainly was more of a Palladian feature. This underscores the complexity of domestic architecture of post-Restoration England. In addition to Talman, Vanbrugh's style of Baroque differentiated from Continental Baroque in that it was dually classical and castellated. He also personalised his designs to the patron (which explains how Seton Delaval Hall can be so wildly different from Blenheim Palace).[148]

By contrast, the architecture of Thomas Archer, who studied in Rome in the 1690s, shows the influences of Bernini, Borromini, and other examples of Roman Baroque. He combined these influences with those of Vanbrugh to create a moderately Baroque style. Harris also highlights the fact that even though Giacomo Leoni translated *I Quattro Libri* into English, his actual

147 Harris, pp. 26-31.
148 Harris, pp. 31-3.

architectural designs reflect his Continental upbringing and training.[149] In short, Harris describes the evolution of English architecture during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries as complex and fluid. Multiple styles were popular at the same time throughout this period. Most importantly, Harris avoids politicisation in favour of thorough and unbiased descriptions of the houses built in this period. This is a very helpful guide to the general context of English country house architecture but should be paired with contemporary social history.

In *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland* (1985), Dan Cruickshank highlights the multifaceted purpose of the country house during the long eighteenth century.[150] Not only could they have been the headquarters of large estates, they could have also been monuments to a family's large fortunes or rural retreats from urban chaos. Instead of focussing explicitly on style (with Palladianism and Baroque competing to be the dominant), Cruickshank also discusses the development of the layout of country houses. Rooted in rules of decorum, as well as expected levels of comfort, country houses came to have a series of apartments extending from the entrance hall or saloon. The *piano nobile* also came to be raised to the first floor to separate it from the activities of the rustic. This plan was miniaturised in the Palladian villas that became so popular under Burlington and his circle.[151]

Cruickshank, unique for the 1980s, included Scottish patrons (like Sir John Clerk of Penicuik) and architects in the Palladian movement that swept Britain.[152] At the same time that villas rose in popularity as rural retreats, the "power house" also became an important architectural statement. Not only did it act as the administrative centre of a patron's estate, it was 'a symbol of power that was not just built but also maintained by a fortune made

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149 Harris, pp. 33-5.
150 Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland*, London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, The National Trust, and the Irish Georgian Society, 1985).
151 Cruickshank, pp. 51-66.
152 Cruickshank, p. 55.

elsewhere.'[153] In addition to discussing the formal aspects of eighteenth-century landscaping, Cruickshank also points out that eighteenth-century British landscape design 'reflects the salient elements of Palladio's planned farms and villas of the Venetian hinterland.'[154] In essence, Cruickshank does not stick to the traditional, stylistic narrative of the country house but instead acknowledges the complexities of country house design.

Harris and Cruickshank both follow in the footsteps of Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* (1978), which was a ground-breaking book in that it did not solely focus on issues of style.[155] Instead, it explores the influence of English social and cultural practices on housing designs. In addition, he explores how the many changes that occurred in England between the Middle Ages and twentieth century shaped the design of the country house. A country house in England was a symbol of a family's power and/or a means to gain more power. Since landholdings were key to a family's wealth and social prestige, the country house was 'the engine which made it effective.'[156] The house was then used to administer one's estate, to showcase or project one's status, and (in the Middle Ages and early modern period) to establish a fighting force. The country house adapted to changing standards of living and fashion. They were funded by political positions, agricultural rents, and industrial activities (particularly after the Industrial Revolution). New country houses signified an owner's ambitions while old country houses could simply be renovated to ensure the owner's continued social presence.[157] Building anew was a very risky investment, however, since the cost of construction, continued maintenance, and daily management was so expensive.[158] Country houses were places of sociability

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153 Cruickshank, p. 62.

154 Cruickshank, p. 101.

155 Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London: Yale University Press, 1978).

156 Girouard, p. 2.

157 *Ibid.*

158 Girouard points to Houghton Hall, as an example of the financial disaster that can come with unfettered ambition. Walpole rose from a minor gentry family from Norfolk to achieve political superstardom as a Whig during the reigns of George I and II. He began Houghton Hall in 1721 as an emblem of his public importance. However, he neglected to buy up more landholdings that would support Houghton's construction and maintenance and his

and entertainment for the owners and their friends. Hunting, of course, was a pursuit that combined both of these functions. This function remained a standard throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period.[159]

However, the political function of the country house evolved alongside England's changing political climate. During the Middle Ages, country houses could perform as the meeting place for parliament or court. This function all but disappeared by the end of the sixteenth century, however, when the monarchy became centred in London. Politically ambitious landowners gladly travelled to London to try and curry royal favour. This initiated the custom of aristocrats and the gentry travelling to London or other urban centres for a few months for work and networking and spending the rest of the year in the country to focus on estate administration. This phenomenon consequently brought the latest ideas and fashions to even the remotest regions of the country.[160] Another change that occurred to the country house between the Middle Ages and the turn of the twentieth century was the distribution and stratification of space.

The country house in circa 1400 was very communal, with the family eating with the rest of the household in the great hall. Rooms were multi-functional, as well, which meant that the family shared much of the house's space with servants. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the house became divided: the most prestigious spaces were reserved for the family and important guests and servants were confined to service areas underneath or behind the house. This phenomenon developed from a growing desire on the part of the owner and his family for greater privacy.[161] The rest of Girouard's book explores these phenomena in close detail, with each chapter focussing on a specific period between the Middle Ages and the 20th century. Even though *Life in the English Country House* is a broad survey, its interest in the

heir failed to follow in his father's footsteps. This led to the family's rapid fall from public prominence. See Girouard, p. 4.

159 Girouard, pp. 4-5.

160 Girouard, pp. 5-9.

161 Girouard, pp. 10-1.

practical aspects of country house design makes it an important methodological guide. Even with all this background information, it was still necessary to explore the architectural practices of the Continent given the complexity of Hopetoun's design.

c. Dutch Architecture

Konrad Ottenheym and Krista de Jonge compiled a collection of essays in *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)* (2013) to create a definitive textbook on early modern architecture from the Low Countries.[162] Their aim is to remedy the italo-centric narrative of early modern architecture that has dominate historiography for centuries and focus on the mechanisms that diffused architecture of the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thanks to their extensive economic networks, the Low Countries were part of a complex, Europe-wide artistic exchange. In addition to Dutch and Flemish artists migrating abroad, foreign artists flocked to the cultural centres of Antwerp in the sixteenth century and Amsterdam in the seventeenth. Records of these phenomena exist from as early as 1450, but Ottenheym and de Jonge state that there was an upsurge in migration to and from the Low Countries after 1500 because of greater economic prosperity (spurred by international trade), increased urbanisation, and a growing circle of courtly patrons.[163] Although style is not the focus of this book, Ottenheym and de Jonge give an overview of the evolution of architectural fashions in the Low Countries. They describe four dominant phases: Burgundian-Brabantine Late Gothic (1480-1530), *all'antica* (1530-1580), "modern antique inventions" (1580-1640), and strict classicism (1640-1680).[164]

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162 Konrad Ottenheym and Krista de Jonge, editors, *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013).

163 Konrad Ottenheym and Krista de Jonge, 'Introduction,' from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., pp. 3-10.

164 Konrad Ottenheym and Krista de Jonge, 'The Architecture of the Low Countries and Its International Reception, 1480-1680: A Bird's Eye View,' from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., p. 15.

The first phase stemmed from the splendour of the Burgundian court, which had acquired much of the Flemish region through marriage.[165] The second phase is generally characterised by artisans applying classical ornamentation to traditional objects. They could be as small and everyday as white alabaster altarpieces (with the stone being imported from England) to large-scale (such as the rood loft at Sankt Maria im Kapitol in Cologne). Artists' knowledge of classical theory (particularly Serlian theory) showcases their participation in a culture of exchange. That they proceeded to export these items successfully across Europe (such as to Germany, England, or even Spain) illustrates their understanding of the art market. They even travelled abroad to find work. Maximilian Colt, for example, travelled from Arras to London for work in 1600, and eventually carved the tomb for Queen Elizabeth I at Westminster Abbey in 1608.[166] This pattern continued in the third phase, albeit on a grander scale: Low Country artists applied classical ornamentation to buildings constructed in the traditional, Gothic form.[167] This phenomenon was also common across Europe (Spain, France, Germany, and Scotland are prime examples) as it was viewed as 'a useful tool to distinguish the status of various buildings by imparting them with the correct degree of *decorum*.'[168] However, a cultural shift began at the turn of the seventeenth century with a greater interest in a stricter form of classicism.

Ottenheym and de Jonge cite Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-circa 1607) as a sort of catalyst of this movement. His study of Vitruvius and Serlio led to his becoming a Northern expert on perspective; he also made prints of the works of Italian greats (such as Michelangelo). Jacob de Campen (1596-1657) and Salomon de Bray (1697-1664) also strove 'for a more classical style based on contemporary interpretations of Vitruvian principles as exemplified in the works of Palladio and Scamozzi.'[169] Most importantly,

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165 Ottenheym and de Jonge, from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., pp. 15-20.
166 Ottenheym and de Jonge, from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., pp. 20-7.
167 Ottenheym and de Jonge, from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., pp. 27-8.
168 Ottenheym and de Jonge, from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., p. 27.
169 Ottenheym and de Jonge, from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., p. 28.

Constantijn Huygens (1595-1686)—diplomat, musician, poet, and secretary to the Prince of Orange—transformed strict classicism into the premiere and ideal style of the Dutch Republic through his patronage. Classicism was particularly significant in that it was not limited to a single religious or ethnic group. Instead, it was popular across the board among Calvinist, Catholic, Baptist, and even Jewish patrons; this was a universally popular style for the diverse Dutch Republic.[170]

As a country dominated by urban, mercantile trade, and civic rule, the social paradigms that were important to Dutch citizens were wealth, status, and cultural refinement. The business-minded Dutch identified with the rational order and proportions—not to mention limited ornamentation—associated with Scamozzi-style classicism. In the same way that merchants wore all black (the most expensive dye at that point), classicism was a quiet status statement befitting republican ideals. The fact that the Dutch managed to adapt a southern European architectural style to their cold, wet climate was an important precedent for their Northern European rivals—particularly Protestant England and Scotland.[171]

Ottenheym and de Jonge's firsthand knowledge and analysis of Dutch classicism is an important background to understanding why Scottish (and English) refugees from the Cromwellian regime identified with the style. Scotland was filled with trade- and expansionist-minded people who, of course, lived in a similar climate. Austere classicism was ennobling but not ostentatious, which was also important for a country divided by the old and new nobility, as well as by the increasingly wealthy and powerful mercantile class. In short, migration is another key to understanding how Scotland came into contact with Low Country architecture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The exchange of ideas primed the Scottish reception of Dutch classicism during the post-Restoration period. Dutch architecture

170 Ottenheym and de Jonge, from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., p. 29.
171 Ottenheym and de Jonge, from Ottenheym and de Jonge, eds., pp. 29-30.

was not Scotland's only Continental source; France had long been an important architectural and cultural influence.

d. French architecture

Jean-Pierre Babelon's *Le château en France* (1995) is the definitive text on the evolution of the *château* in France. Focussing on the period of the reigns of Henri IV and Louis XIII, Claude Mignot states that there was not a fundamental break away from traditional *château* architecture as suggested by the third book of architecture by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (this, of course, recalls Ackerman and Rosenfeld's aforementioned analysis of Serlio's urban designs). Regional flavour only affected the *château* in terms of its materials or the steepness of its roof; the architect and master builder reigned supreme in terms of design. There were shifts in the spatial organisation, building technique, and aesthetics of the *château*, but the biggest changes were sociological in nature. Between 1590 and 1650, the changing roles and significance of France's aristocracy affected the traditional military, feudal, agricultural, and residential functions of *châteaux*. Wealth and power remained centred around Paris and the grandest *châteaux* were built by premiere Parisian architects (such as Solomon de Brosse or Pierre Le Muet) for Paris's ministers, secretaries of state and finance, and parliamentarians. In this period, the purchase of land remained the key to obtaining a royal title and the subsequent construction of a *château* on that property was essential to maintaining one's noble presence. However, after the chaos and violence of the Wars of Religion and the 100 Years' War, the military function of the *château* declined significantly on the order of Henri IV and later Louis XIII.[172]

The medieval donjons were dismantled and replaced with only partially fortified structures. By 1629, the Crown forbade any and all forms of fortification—besides high walls, moats, and flanking walls—without express

[172] Claude Mignot, 'L'époque d'Henri IV et de Louis XIII,' from Jean-Pierre Babelon, editor, *Le château en France sous la direction de Jean-Pierre Babelon* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1988): pp. 257-67, particularly p. 257-8.

authorisation. The separation of *châteaux* with militaristic activities remained slow because of their symbolic association with France's aristocracy. According to Mignot, '*fossés, créneaux et tourelles sont signes de noblesse* [moats, battlements and towers are signs of nobility].'[173] As a consequence, nobles maintained their ancestral seats as a symbol of their ancient lineage while modernising them. Although Henri IV hoped to re-associate rural *châteaux* strictly with agriculture, he was only partially successful because *châteaux* remained primarily aristocratic residences. With agricultural activities running right up to their high walls (as shown by the calendrical illustrations of *Les Très Riches Heures de Duc du Berry*), *châteaux* dominated the countryside.[174] Nonetheless, architectural theorists like Jacques Androuet du Cerceau worked to apply urban planning to the design and organisation of châteaux, their dependencies, and the surrounding landscape. Indeed, '*le domaine Agricole est peu à peu intégré tout entière au dessin et organisé selon les mêmes principes que les parterres'* and *'le paysage rural dans sa diversité est organisé pour la jouissance esthétique* [Agricultural sectors were, little by little, integrated into the design as a whole and were organised according to the same principles as *parterres*].'[175]

There was a change in the standards for *châteaux* floor plans, as well, during this period. Until circa 1635-40, the most popular type of floor plan was the square type in which the *corps-de-logis* was arranged on all four sides around a courtyard. The *corps-de-logis* was traditionally composed of the principal lodgings, a long gallery, secondary lodgings, and the entrance façade. This was the modernised version of the medieval *château* and, according to Mignot, was not inspired by the Italian *palazzo*. This floor plan was in existence as early as 1510 at Bury. Every prominent architect came to adopt this type over the course of the sixteenth century but adjusted their designs to suit the demands of their patrons. Roof designs (square pavilion with a roof with a double awl or dome; rectangular *corps-de-logis* with a

173 Mignot, from Babelon, ed., p. 259.
174 Mignot, from Babelon, ed., p. 260.
175 *Ibid*.

hipped roof; *corps-de-logis* or double pavilion with a split wall and crossed roof) also became a quintessential element to the modern *château*. Since *châteaux* could have any combination of these roof types, this was an important method for one to distinguish one's dwelling. However, by circa 1635-40, the disjointedness and inconvenience of this floor plan type became undesirable.[176]

One solution was the improvement in roof construction, which transformed the interior of the *château* into a more cohesive, unified whole with a great deal more space. Staircases were also centralised to improve traffic circulation and Italian-style *salone* replaced the grand gallery as a reception room.[177] In short, patrons desired a more unified and cohesive structure than their medieval precedents. This phenomenon is perfectly illustrated by the Versailles built by Louis XIII and Nicolas Fouquet's Vaux-le-Vicomte. This theme of unification also occurred at the elevations of *châteaux* during the 1620s and 30s. As previously mentioned, single roofs played a huge role in unifying a *château*'s silhouette. The desire for clustered and busy façades, with an emphasis on the verticality of each bay, was replaced with unified masses through belting and cornices. Ornamentation became more austere, as well.[178] Mignot's chapter is clearly a quintessential lesson on architecture from Henri IV and Louis XIII's reign. As a native specialist, Mignot provides firsthand insight on French architecture without the type of preconceptions (such as the French being Baroque enthusiasts) that comes with unfamiliarity. Mignot's chapter can help establish a better understanding of early modern and post-Restoration Scottish architecture.

This literature review has already named several sources that identified similarities between French and Scottish high society and architecture in this period. France's most ancient families were very similar to their Scottish equivalents in that they identified military features as a symbol

176 Mignot, from Babelon, ed., pp. 263-4.
177 Mignot, from Babelon, eds., pp. 264-5.
178 Mignot, from Babelon, eds., pp. 265-7.

of aristocracy. Modernising ancient seats was consequently an important solution to the cultural shifts France witnessed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was a recurring theme in Scottish domestic architecture and did not die out with the Restoration of the monarchy. Bruce certainly applied this principal to Thirlestane and Drumlanrig. However, Holyroodhouse Palace was perhaps the most French of all. Building an identical tower adjacent to the original northwest one (built by James V), Bruce filled the gap with a grand entrance wing that opened up onto a square courtyard surrounded by three wings. Aonghus MacKechnie discussed Bruce's layout for Holyroodhouse extensively in his article, 'Birth-stool of Scottish Romanticism? Holyrood and Sir William Bruce, "Surveyor-General and Overseer of the King's Buildings in Scotland' (2012).[179]

The southwest corner of the palace was occupied by the principal stair and the chapel inhabited the new southwest tower. The principal stair acted as the fulcrum from which two apartments extended into the south and west quarters of the palace. The south apartment, which was the King's apartment, extended into the palace's east quarter. While the guard chamber and presence chamber occupied the south quarter, the King's private rooms ran alongside the east quarter, with his bedchamber occupying the very centre facing the west entrance. The King's apartment connected to the long gallery that occupied Holyrood's north quarter. The leftover west apartment was intended as the queen's apartment (although Lauderdale eyed it for himself).[180] In discussing Bruce's design for Holyrood's modern layout, MacKechnie recalls such iconic palaces as Linlithgow, Stirling, and Falkland as sources of inspiration.[181]

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179 Aonghus MacKechnie, 'Birth-stool of Scottish Romanticism? Holyrood and Sir William Bruce, "Surveyor-General and Overseer of the King's Buildings in Scotland,"' *Architectural Heritage* 23 (2012): 133-162, https://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=234d22b6-30b2-4d99-8c0c-d6d1736f98cd%40sessionmgr110&vid=2&hid=122.

180 MacKechnie, pp. 142-3.

181 MacKechnie, pp. 134-5, 139, 143, 147-8.

However, seventeenth-century French design stands as another possible source. The most obvious similarity is Holyrood's incorporation of a medieval tower into a modern courtyard plan. Furthermore, Louis Savot discussed the proper layout of a *corps-de-logis* in 1624, stating that it should be arranged in four sides around a square courtyard with the principal apartment facing the entrance. He then states that the other sides should be used for secondary lodgings and a gallery.[182] This is very close to what Bruce designed for Holyrood Palace. Because France stood as a good model for how to modernise medieval *châteaux* (or to create modern structures with a militaristic appearance), its method of floor plan organisation was an ideal point of reference. Bruce very cleverly applied what he had learned abroad to his Scottish projects. As a side note, Holyrood's courtyard, consisting of three storeys of Tuscan, Ionic, and Corinthian superimposed orders, is another key area of interest for architectural historians. MacKechnie cites such examples of Dutch classicism as Maastricht and Amsterdam townhalls as sources of inspiration.[183] However, it must not be forgotten that, as early as 1534, Michelangelo designed the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese in a similar fashion.[184] It is clear that French architecture greatly influenced Scottish domestic designs. This relationship was only strengthened by the cultural dominance of Louis XIV's court.

François Boudon's chapter in Babelon's tome also provides key insight into the developments in *château* architecture that occurred during the reign of Louis XIV.[185] The definitive building of the Sun King's reign was, of

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182 Louis Savot, *L'architecture Françoise des Bastimens Particuliers. Composée par Me Louis Savot, Medecin du Roy , & de la Faculté de Medecine en l'Université de Paris* (Paris, 1624), pp. 44-5, from Gallica (BNF), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k85642d/f2.image, accessed 2 May, 2018.

183 MacKechnie, p. 145.

184 The major differences between Palazzo Farnese and Holyrood House are that Michelangelo incorporated engaged columns rather than pilasters, and the windows of the first and second storeys are capped by regular and segmental pediments. Michelangelo also does not incorporate a dominant frontispiece and keeps the ground storey arcade theme in every storey. Nonetheless, Palazzo Farnese's use of Colosseum-style superimposed orders in a domestic courtyard was cleary very influential for later examples.

185 François Boudon, 'Art royal et art français sous Louis XIV,' from Babelon, ed., pp. 281-94.

course, Versailles. The *château* was in a nearly continuous state construction from 1668 to 1680, transforming it from a minor hunting lodge into the embodiment of royal magnificence in Europe. It was essentially architectural propaganda for Louis XIV. According to Boudon, '*ce prince orgueilleux qui veut régner sur le monde n'impose pas seulement sa volonté par la guerre ou les manoeuvres politiques, mais aussi par l'image qu'il donne de sa propre personne dans ses constructions* [This proud prince who wanted to rule the world not only imposed his will through war or political machinations, but also through the self-image he incorporated into his buildings].'[186] Since images of Versailles in its various stages of construction disseminated throughout Europe during this period, it is very likely that Bruce (and the Hopes) knew the palace very well even before Alexander Edward's Grand Tour. Establishing this context of French architecture is very important to any discussion of post-Restoration British architecture. Not only did a great many Scots and Englishmen live in France during the Interregnum period, French architecture became the height of fashion during Louis XIV's reign (which coincided with the post-Restoration period). Since Hopetoun was designed and constructed at the zenith of the dominance of Louis XIV's court, it seems very likely that there is a connection between the two.

A Royal Passion: Louis XIV as Patron of Architecture (1994) by Robert W Berger discusses the architecture of Louis XIV in even greater detail than Boudon's chapter. Berger introduces the book with a portrait of Louis XIV from circa 1689 that features the floor plan of the recently constructed boarding school of Saint-Cyr for impoverished (albeit aristocratic) girls. A royal crown rests on top of these plans, indicating to viewers that the Crown funded the school's founding and construction. This official portrait embodies the focus of Berger's book, which was to discuss Louis XIV's 'instinctive understanding of the importance of architecture to statecraft.'[187] Louis XIV did not invent this concept. Not only did he follow in the footsteps of his royal

186 Boudon, from Babelon, ed., p. 283.
187 Robert W. Berger, *A Royal Passion: Louis XIV as Patron of Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 1.

predecessors (Charlemagne, Louis IX, Charles V, and Francis I), he inherited a Renaissance-era tradition (evoked by Henry VIII, Charles V of Spain, numerous popes, Federico da Montefeltro, Lorenzo il Magnifico, and the list goes on).[188]

Early modern rulers—of city-states to great empires—believed that building was the mark of a true prince because it evoked magnificence, power, wealth, and an educated, artistic temperament. However, Louis XIV magnified the scale of building activities to a new level. He understood that since architecture was more monumental and durable than sculpture or painting, it was as good a tool of statecraft as war.[189] This book is a very helpful guide to the architectural and political developments that occurred after the death of Louis XIII in 1643. It first discusses Louis XIV's upbringing during his regency (1643-1661) under his mother, Anne of Austria, and Jules Cardinal Mazarin. Although he did not receive a strictly classical education, Mazarin ensured that he was tutored in matters of war, diplomacy, hunting, as well as drawing, music, and dancing.[190] After Mazarin's death in 1661, the Sun King assumed his personal rule (1661-1715).

At that point, Louis XIV inherited the royal building administration, which was comprised of Louis Le Vau (first architect from 1654) and Antoine de Ratabon (superintendent from 1656). Le Vau was also employed by the (overly) ambitious finance minister, Nicolas Fouquet, from 1656 to design Vaux-le-Vicomte. André Le Nôtre (royal garden designer) and Charles Le Brun (first painter) were also employed to design Vaux-le-Vicomte's gardens and interior decorations, respectively. This triumvirate 'established a new unity between the *château* and its garden' at Vaux-le-Vicomte, creating the latest fashions in French architecture, landscaping, and interior décor.[191] Le Vau unified traditional French motifs (separately roofed pavilions) with modern engineering (the two-storey domed *salon* garden entrance); Le Brun

188 Berger, pp. 2-5.
189 Berger, pp. 5.
190 Berger, pp. 12-7.
191 Berger, p. 18.

ornamented the interior with *trompe l'oeil* ceilings, gilded mouldings, and painted arabesque wall panels. Finally, Le Nôtre created a garden with a canal, grotto, and distant vistas.[192] Louis XIV understood well Fouquet's ostentatious statement and was not pleased when he saw the nearly finished masterpiece in August, 1661. Thanks to Jean-Baptiste Colbert's machinations, Fouquet was arrested months later and was imprisoned in 1664. This turn of events led to two key outcomes. The first was that the Sun King was so impressed with Le Vau, Le Nôtre, and Le Brun that he employed them to work on Versailles. The second was that Colbert rose to become the new finance minister; his mercantilist ideals and financial reforms ultimately doubled the Crown's net income between 1661 and 1671.[193]

Colbert also endeavoured to exert greater control over France's visual arts, going so far as to purchase the superintendency from Ratabon in 1664; he became the intermediary between architects and the King until his death in 1683. Colbert also founded the Royal Academy of Architecture in 1662, whose first members were Louis Le Vau (1612-1670), François Le Vau (1613-1676), Liberal Bruant (1635-1697), Daniel Gittard (1625-1686), Antoine Le Pautre (1621-1679), François d'Orbay (1634-1697), and François Blondel (the director; 1618-1686). The Academy became the epicentre of architectural design and knowledge in France and its members were officially titled *architectes du roi.* The Academy also sent promising students to study in Rome as early as 1667. Louis XIV and Colbert had thus created a centralised and prestigious bureaucratic system in which to train architects (as well as painters and sculptors) by 1672. Louis XIV was very closely involved with the arts throughout his reign, working closely with this institution (as well as the literary Petite Académie and others) to devise an appropriate building programme.[194] After establishing the politicisation and institutionalisation of the arts and architecture under Louis XIV, Berger moved on to discuss the major projects carried out during the Sun King's

192 *Ibid.*
193 Berger, pp. 18-9.
194 Berger, pp. 20-4.

reign. Some of the major domestic architectural projects included the Louvre, the Tuileries, Versailles, Clagny, and Marly.

The Louvre and the Tuileries were among Louis XIV's first projects and together were constructed and decorated steadily between 1661 and 1679.[195] Versailles, of course, was a dominant project. Louis XIV transformed it from a hunting lodge into his official royal residence (and the residence for every courtier in France) between 1668 and 1687 (with further projects carried out between 1687 and Louis XIV's death in 1715).[196] Clagny was built as the residence for Louis XIV's official mistress, the Duchesse de Montespan (and their eight royal bastards). Initially designed by Antoine Le Pautre, Jules Hardoin-Mansart built Clagny between 1675 and 1682.[197] Marly was constructed about halfway between Versailles and Saint Germain between 1679 and circa 1686 and it acted as Louis XIV's official retreat.[198] Berger makes clear that Louis XIV, Colbert, and his trusted architects and artists transformed Paris and its vicinities into a Baroque centre of culture and learning.

The renovated Louvres and Tuileries ensured that Louis XIV's presence was perpetually felt, even though he had permanently moved court to Versailles by 1682. The dominance and prestige of Versailles ensured Louis XIV's place as the top political figure of France, if not Europe. Berger's facile description of each step of Versailles' design and building process means that the reader is easily able to engage with Versailles' transformation from an architectural and political perspective. The discussions of Clagny and Marly underscore the experimental attitude Louis XIV and his architects had towards architectural design. They also show the Sun King's immense

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195 This does not include their intermittent periods of construction before Louis XIV's reign. The Louvres was renovated by Leclerc in the sixteenth century and Lemercier earlier in the seventeenth century. The Tuileries was first constructed by Catherine de Médicis as a suburban villa. Jules Cardinal Mazarin later endeavoured to transform the palace into an opera house before Louis XIV had it turned back into a supplement to the Louvres. See Berger, pp. 27-42.

196 Berger, pp. 53-72, 107-18.

197 Berger, pp. 84-91.

198 Berger, pp. 143-53.

wealth, unbridled power, ambition, and simultaneous artistic temperament. Both Babelon and Berger's books are broad surveys rather than close case studies and therefore cannot act as methodological guides. Nonetheless, alongside Babelon's tome, Berger's is a solid textbook guide to Louis XIV's reign and French architectural fashion of the period. Since Louis XIV's architecture dominated European fashion in this period, Bruce had travelled in France during the transitory period between Mazarin and Louis XIV, and the Hopes were known Francophiles, it is important to have this background. Even still, there remains the scholarship of one more architectural influence to be discussed.

e. Italian

Hopetoun House, as will be seen, was undoubtedly influenced by Palladian theory (and likely not Jonesian Palladianism). Tavernor's book (cited above) provides a basic description of Palladian theory, which was shaped by an education in both Renaissance and Vitruvian classicism (including the study of ancient ruins) sponsored by his noble benefactor, Gian Giorgio Trissino. Although he briefly discusses some of the social and agricultural functions of Palladio's villas, Tavernor is mainly concerned with Palladio's approach to Vitruvian classicism. Vitruvius's architectural theory was rooted in Pythagorean and Platonic numerical and geometrical systems, which were believed to be an abstract embodiment of Nature, of which man was the master. While Leon Battista Alberti revived these principles in the Quattrocento, Tavernor states that Palladio was the Cinquecento inheritor of these ideals. In addition to following Vitruvian proportions, Palladio designed his buildings according to the Vitruvian model of spatial hierarchy (the most important spaces were in sight and the work spaces were not). Palladio's architecture was clearly much more than porticoes and cupolas: it was a very complex blend of Vitruvian theory and contemporary architectural practices.[199] However, Palladio's architecture was much more than mathematic proportions.

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199 Tavernor, pp. 25-42.

James S. Ackerman's short, albeit powerful, book, *Palladio,* also discusses the origins, development, and evolution of Andera Palladio's architecture, including the domestic designs featured in Book II of *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura.*[200] However, Ackerman takes a different approach from Tavernor in that he emphasises the importance that the displacement of Venice's longstanding mercantile economy in favour of an agricultural one had on Palladio's villas. Although he incorporated classical elements into his villas (graduating from 'non-hellenistic' Roman vocabulary to classical proportions and temple façades), Palladio wanted more than anything to ensure that his villas could function as farmhouses for Venetian patricians.[201] In other words, these villas long predated Louis Sullivan's famous mantra of "form follows function." As pointed out by John Lowrey and Margaret Stewart, Scottish landlords were driven to improve their landscapes in order to maximise profits. They would have very much identified with their sixteenth-century Venetian predecessors and would have found Palladio to be a very helpful resource in this sense. As such, Ackerman's book is a very helpful guide to this element of Palladianism. In addition, the modern concept of the country house was an import to Scotland.

James S. Ackerman's *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (1990) gives an important summary of how the villa developed in medieval Tuscany.[202] Western Europe was highly splintered during the early Middle Ages and was dominated by small fiefdoms dependent on local lords. Feudal lords gained their wealth and power through land and agriculture. They built and lived in castles to protect them from rival fiefdoms. Castles eventually came to represent the ancient lineage of noble families. Western Europe began experiencing a boom in urbanisation during the later Middle Ages thanks to the growth in other economic sectors, such as mercantile trade,

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200 James S. Ackerman, *Palladio* (London: Pelican Books, 1966; New York: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 36-80.
201 Ackerman, *Palladio,* p. 43.
202 James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).

crafts, and manufacturing. Urbanisation and stronger economies made the countryside safer. A new, paradoxical phenomenon emerged in fourteenth-century Tuscany, as a consequence: the use of the countryside as a retreat from the chaos of urban life. Petrarch's *La Vita Solitaria* reflects on the moral benefits of a solitary, reflective life in the country versus the greed and ambition of the city. Indeed, Florence's elite in particular came to view the countryside as a place to develop *humanitas* and exercise the body.[203]

The villa as a building type was borne out of this philosophical ideal. Early villas were built with fortress-like features since they carried such important associations with aristocracy. Two early Medici villas, which are attributed to Michelozzo di Bartolomeo and are located in the Mugello valley at Trebbio and Cafaggiolo, are prime examples. Although their floor plans were modern and were not designed for defence, they still were given castellated features.[204] In other words, 'ancient villa life was revived in such a medieval form.'[205] In addition to acting as centres of the Medici's agricultural estates, they were dually rural retreats.[206] The villa as a building type, of course, eventually spread across Western Europe as far north as Scotland. It is essential to know the Renaissance origins of the villa in order to understand its broader significance. However, country houses (such as Hopetoun) were not villas in the Petrarchan sense: they provided solace from the city but were also centres of estate administration. This is what makes Palladio so important: he combined ancient architectural theory, late medieval philosophy, and the farmhouse into a cohesive building type. While the above sources are all essential in that they provide a thorough background of architectural history, it remains to be seen how this information can be used in a microhistorical sense.

f. Architectural Microforms

203 Ackerman, *The Villa,* pp. 63-4.
204 Ackerman, *The Villa,* pp. 64-6.
205 Ackerman, *The Villa,* p. 65.
206 Ackerman, *The Villa,* p. 68.

Since the historiography of British country houses favours broad surveys, there are not very many microforms available in the field. Christine Hickey's book, *Holkham: The Social, Architectural and Landscape History of a Great English Country House* (2017), is one of the few examples of this type of study.[207] Despite the enormous amount of archival research that went into its writing, Hickey's book reads more like a highly detailed museum guide than a critically analytic work of scholarship. She goes into great detail about the family's history, the development of the Holkham estate during the seventeenth century, and the construction of Holkham Hall itself. However, she does not contextualise any of this to any great extent within the realms of social, architectural, agricultural, or economic English history. The reader is left wondering why Holkham deserves such focus. This is exactly the reason why the microform is a precarious form of historical analysis. However, when done correctly, the microform is enlightening and can act as the perfect medium for a microhistorical case study.

Charles Saumarez Smith's book, *The Building of Castle Howard,* is an example of a very well done microform.[208] Numerous sources cited in this literature review have discussed Castle Howard as an example of English Baroque but do not go into any further detail. This book discusses the influence that Edward Howard, the Third Earl of Carlisle, had on Castle Howard's design and its significance within contemporary England. Castle Howard was part of a group of late seventeenth-century houses (including Cliveden, Petworth, Thiresby, Boughton, and Chatsworth) that were built on a palatial scale and in a palatial style. Smith points out that the patrons of this group of houses were part of 'an extremely powerful and self-confident landed elite attached to the Court interest, which erected striking monuments to the consequences of the Revolution Settlement.'[209] They may not have been Whigs, but it was in their favour to flatter the Whiggish court. In other

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207 Christine Hickey, *Holkham: The Social, Architectural and Landscape History of a Great English Country House* (London: Unicorn Publishing, 2017).
208 Charles Saumarez Smith, *The Building of Castle Howard* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1990).
209 Smith, pp. 22-3.

words, the Tories were not the only fans of flare. Country houses were not simply basic status statements; there were far more financially safer, short-term ways (such as diet and clothing) to show off one's wealth.[210]

Nonetheless, it was philosophically considered essential in this period to present oneself in a manner befitting one's rank. Furthermore, country houses (if properly managed) were investments in the family's future and posterity. Country houses had long had associations with the fostering of community and social stability. At the same time, England was ravaged by war and bad harvests throughout the 1690s, which resulted in high land taxes, limited trading conditions until the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, high corn prices, and food shortage. Not only did merchants lose a great deal of capital and investments, farmers (tenants and gentry alike) suffered from the land taxes. People involved in the government (such as Carlisle) conversely grew rich from the constant wars.[211] Moralists and architectural writers emphasised that 'it was wrong to build on too lavish a scale, that building should be a demonstration of usefulness, sobriety and benefits to the public.'[212] Country houses in and of themselves were not viewed with scorn. However, the construction of extravagant country houses in this turbulent period was a very politically charged activity that would not have been viewed favourably by suffering neighbours.[213]

This is important context for Smith's discussion of Castle Howard. Carlisle grew up in remote north Cumberland and embarked on a Grand Tour between 1688 and 1691, studying Palladio in the Veneto, Roman ruins in Rome, as well as the classics and modern painting. Carlisle became very involved in politics after 1695, becoming a Whig and opposing Jacobitism in support of the post-Revolution monarchy.[214] This led to a flourishing political career under William III. After William III's death in 1702 and Tory-leaning

210 Smith, p. 22.
211 Smith, pp. 24-7.
212 Smth, p. 29.
213 Smith, pp. 27-9.
214 Smith, pp. 2-6.

Anne's ascension to the throne, Carlisle lost his political influence. Carlisle was unpopular before then, however: not only did he have Continental taste and favoured a Dutch court, he was an unctuous social climber.[215] Castle Howard was planned during Carlisle's illustrious, albeit brief, political career with the assumption that it would continue in the same way. Castle Howard was designed as a tribute to his ancient lineage, to establish the Howards as a leading family, and to affirm his own wealth and political clout.[216] This was expected. And yet, he built in the ill-favoured French style on a lavish scale. More damning is the fact that he evicted the inhabitants of the chosen building site, Henderskelfe in Yorkshire, in the middle of a period of severe economic instability.[217] In short, Smith shows that much can be learned about a period, a society, and culture in post-Restoration England from an in-depth study of a single house and its patron.

Even more knowledge can be gained by studying Castle Howard's building process. The house was built steadily between 1700 and 1714—with the most intense construction period occurring between 1701 and 1708—using high quality craftsmen. Given the fact that Carlisle fell out of favour after 1702, Smith questions how he managed to pay for such an expensive investment. Luckily, Carlisle meticulously kept track of his income and expenditures. Smith found that between 1700 and 1708, approximately 60% of his income came from estate rentals (particularly in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Northumberland). In the period of 1700-1708, Carlisle earned £22,927 in rentals out of a total income of £38,835. Rental value also steadily increased during this period: he earned £2,432, £3,410, £4,805, £4,823, and £7,457 between 1700, 1701, 1703/4, 1705/6, and 1707/8.[218] These figures are misleading because some individual landholdings increased on their own while others dropped in value. In other words, Carlisle's increase in income was not the result of a change in land value or

215 Smith, pp. 12-7.
216 Smith, pp. 9-12.
217 Smith, pp. 31.
218 Smith, p. 74.

in better estate administration.[219] Carlisle supplemented his income through sales, savings, loans, and even gambling.[220] In all, Carlisle's income during the first decade of the eighteenth century averaged out to £7,767, which was a considerable sum for the period.[221] However, given the enormous wealth earned by his contemporaries (the Duke of Somerset, for example, earned an average of over £15,000 per annum between 1689 and 1701), Carlisle's wealth was not among the top tier of English peers.[222] It must also be remembered that the loss of his government posts meant the loss of another form of income.

Despite all this, he still decided to construct a palatial country house. Country houses were extremely expensive investments. Indeed, Daniel Finch, the Second Earl of Nottingham, spent approximately £80,000 on Burley-on-the-Hill.[223] Carlisle, quite frankly, did not have nearly that vast of a fortune. Ultimately, Carlisle had to spend a third of his annual income on building Castle Howard; he spent nearly half his income on building the house in 1704.[224] Combined with an extravagant taste for luxuries, Carlisle certainly spent beyond his means. That Carlisle kept meticulous note of his income and expenditure (and did not just spend impulsively and mindlessly) shows just how important ostentation was to the English aristocracy. Carlisle's patient construction of his house over the course of more than a decade shows that he understood his financial constraints and planned accordingly.[225]

Castle Howard is the ultimate embodiment of the principle of *sprezzatura*, which required one to spend his fortune to create the appearance of endless wealth. As Smith states:

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219 Smith, pp. 74-5.
220 Smith, pp. 74-6.
221 Smith, p. 76.
222 Smith, p. 76.
223 Smith, p.77.
224 Smth, p. 78.
225 Smith, pp. 78-82.

‘The extent to which the main pile of Castle Howard is a surface skin, in which all the sculptural effect is concentrated only on those parts which are immediately visible, and the way that the ground plan is arranged to create an immediate dramatic impression upon the arriving spectator, begin to be seen in terms of a taste for extravagance and display financed by an income which could not easily afford it.’[226]

Carlisle was a wealthy aristocrat with ambitions to climb to the very top of England’s social ladder. As Smith’s research shows, the reality of Carlisle’s finances did not correlate with the image. This reshapes the way that Castle Howard should be viewed. Smith’s book is a seminal work of micro-historical scholarship. Smith’s financial analysis of Carlisle’s estate will be a key precedent for the ninth chapter of this thesis. What is more, his entire methodological approach, which balances contextual history with that of Castle Howard, is an important precedent for this thesis. With that being said, it is now time to examine the available, published scholarship on Hopetoun House.

IV. The Scholarship on Hopetoun House: A Stylistic Debate

Much of the scholarship on Hopetoun House, although microhistorical, deals in issues of style and there has been a longstanding debate over whether Bruce’s designs for Hopetoun are based primarily on Italian, French, Dutch, or even English models. Alistair Rowan favoured the notion that Bruce’s Hopetoun derived from a variety of models. Identifying it as ‘Bruce’s most perfect composition,’ it was he who first drew attention to Hopetoun’s centralised, Greek cross floor plan.[227] He states that this design was unique compared to its contemporary English counterparts, which were often H-shaped or double pile.[228] The closest English comparisons identified by Rowan are Kings Weston House near Bristol and Seton Deleval Hall near Newcastle-on-Tyne.[229] However, they were begun in 1712 and 1718, respectively, which means they could not have possibly been sources for Hopetoun House. Although unusual, Rowan notes that the Greek-cross

226 Smith, p. 84.
227 Rowan, p. 186.
228 *Ibid.*
229 *Ibid.*

arrangement of rooms made it easy to divide the four corners into separate suites of apartments. Such an arrangement 'strongly recalls the French seventeenth-century practise of designing suites of *appartements.*'[230] Rowan views French models as the primary source of inspiration for Hopetoun's floor plan.

He also argues that Hopetoun's entrance façade is rooted in French design, first citing Colen Campbell's description of Hopetoun House as being 'rusticated in the *French* manner.'[231] Combined with the arcaded portico entrance, Rowan states that Hopetoun House's entrance façade resembles Louis Le Vau's Hôtel Tambonneau (*Figure 2.1*).[232] The strongest link is between Hopetoun's frontispiece and Tambonneau's entrance portico. Rowan also draws a connection between Hopetoun's and Blenheim Palace's entrance façades: both are marked by horizontal lines spanning the entirety of their fronts (*Figure 2.2*).[233] However, since Blenheim was constructed between 1705 and 1722, this comparison is not entirely appropriate. Although his descriptions are brief, Rowan makes a strong argument supporting the French influences of Hopetoun's designs.

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230 *Ibid.*

231 *Ibid.*

232 Jean I Marot, *Hôtel Tambonneau (based on Louis Le Vau, Hôtel Tambonneau, Paris, b. 1642),* ca. 1650s, engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from Emil Krén and Daniel Marx, 'Marot, Jean I (b. 1619, Paris, d. 1679, Paris),' *Web Gallery of Art,* http://www.wga.hu/html_m/m/marot/jean1/tambonne.html (accessed 21 March, 2016).

233 Rowan, p. 187. Image: Sir John Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, circa 1705-22, Oxfordshire, from *The Manor Country House Hotel*, https://themanorweston.com/what-to-do/blenheim-palace (accessed 30 October, 2018).

(*Figure 2.1,* Jean I Marot, Hôtel Tambonneau, Paris, 1650, engraved image of Louis Le Vau, Hôtel Tambonneau, b. 1642, Paris)

(*Figure 2.2,* Sir John Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, circa 1705-22, Oxfordshire, photograph from *The Manor Country House Hotel*)

James Macaulay was the next major scholar to analyse Hopetoun House stylistically in *The Classical Country House in Scotland: 1600-1800* (1987). Macaulay follows in Rowan's footsteps in describing Bruce's Hopetoun as a simple classical country house for a private gentleman—a precursor to Adam's extravagant design.[234] He argues that Hopetoun initially seems to be an amalgamation of Serlian and Palladian elements, with Palladio's Villa Capra (la Rotonda) acting as a foundational source.[235] However, he instead concludes that Hopetoun's floor plan bears remarkable resemblance to Jules Hardouin-Mansart's Château de Marly (begun 1679) near Versailles (*Figure 2.3*) and also points to a copy of Marly's plan by

234 Rowan, p. 184; James Macaulay, *The Classical Country House in Scotland: 1660-1800* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1987), pp. 19-22, 56-8.
235 Macaulay, *The Classical Country House,* p. 21.

Bruce's draftsman, Alexander Edward, as evidence.[236] Meanwhile, he believes the elevation of Hopetoun's entrance façade to be thoroughly Palladian, comparing Hopetoun's arcaded portico to the one at Villa Gazzotti-Grimani (which Macaulay calls Villa Marcello; *Figure 2.4*).[237] The façade of this small villa is dominated by a triple arcaded portico, which is accentuated by Corinthian pilasters. However, not only is Hopetoun's portico built in the Doric order, its arches do not have keystones. Furthermore, there is an entire storey separating Hopetoun's arcade from the pediment. Beyond the superficial features, it is difficult to draw any real connection between Gazzotti-Grimani and Hopetoun. On the other hand, Macaulay also points out the French influences on Hopetoun's segmental pediment with circular window in the garden façade, citing Le Muet's *Manière de Bien Bastir* as a likely source of inspiration (*Figures 2.5, 2.6, 2.7*).[238] In short, Macualay described Hopetoun House as a cosmopolitan, "multi-national" creation in 1987.

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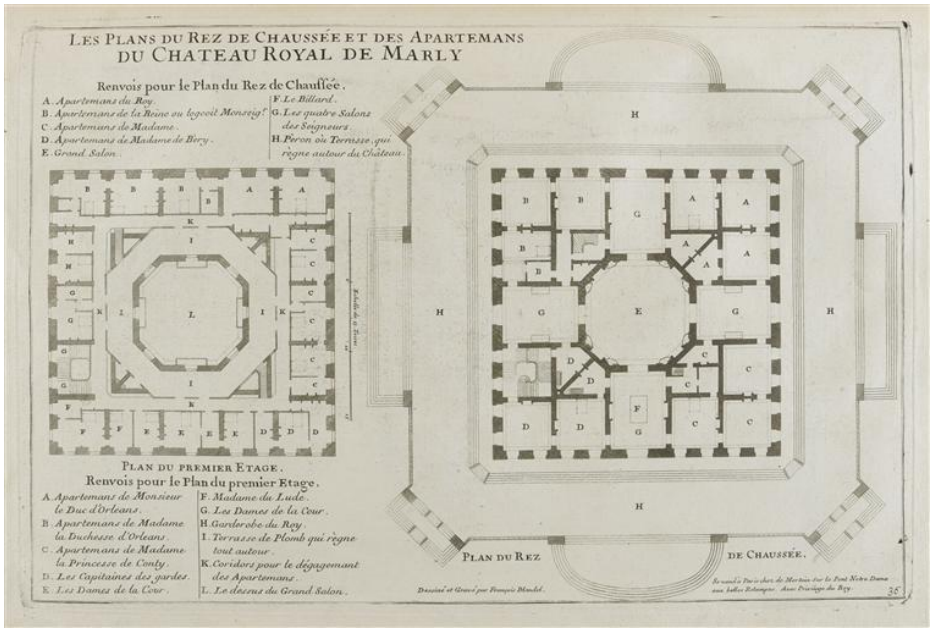
[236] Macaulay, *The Classical Country House,* p. 21; Artist Unknown, Engraving based on Jules Hardouin-Mansart's Floor plan of Château de Marly, c. 1715 (building begun c. 1679), from *Wikimedia Commons,* https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ch%C3%A2teau_de_Marly-3.jpg (accessed 13 June, 2018). It should be noted that if this drawing dates to Edward's 1701-2 tour of the Continent, it would have been draughted several years after Bruce first designed Hopetoun. As such, his knowledge of Marly would have had to have come from some other source.

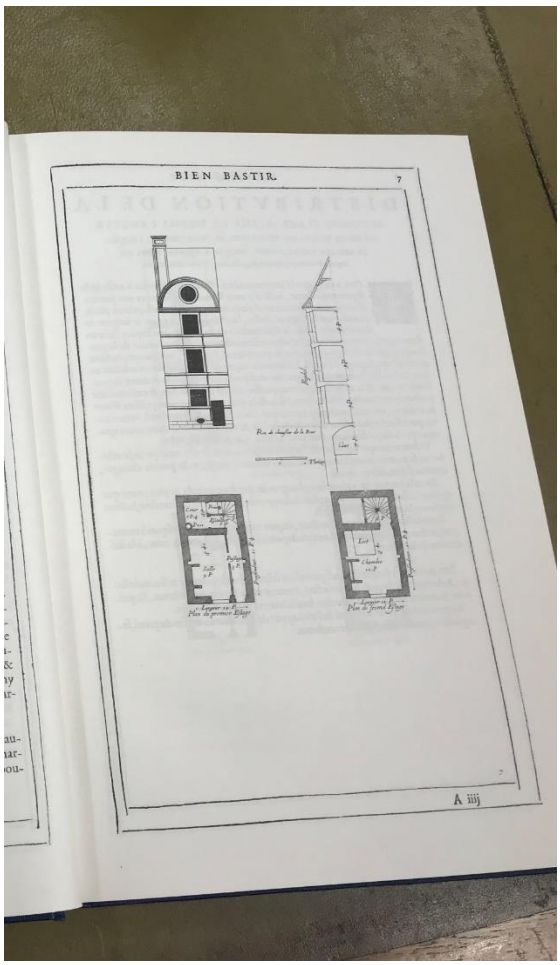
[237] Macaulay likely references Villa Gazzotti Grimani. Andrea Palladio, Villa Gazzotti Grimani, 1542, Bertesina, Veneto, Italy, photograph from *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_Gazzotti_Grimani#/media/File:VillaGazzotti_2007_07_18_3.jpg (accessed 30 October, 2018).

[238] Macaulay, *The Classical Country House,* p. 21. Macaulay did not cite a specific plate from Le Muet's treatise. This chapter has therefore cited every plate that featured a segmental pediment. See: Pierre Le Muet, edited by Sir Anthony Blunt, *Le Manière de Bien Bastir pour Toutes Sortes de Personnes* (Richmond, Surrey: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1972), pp. 7, 93, 95.

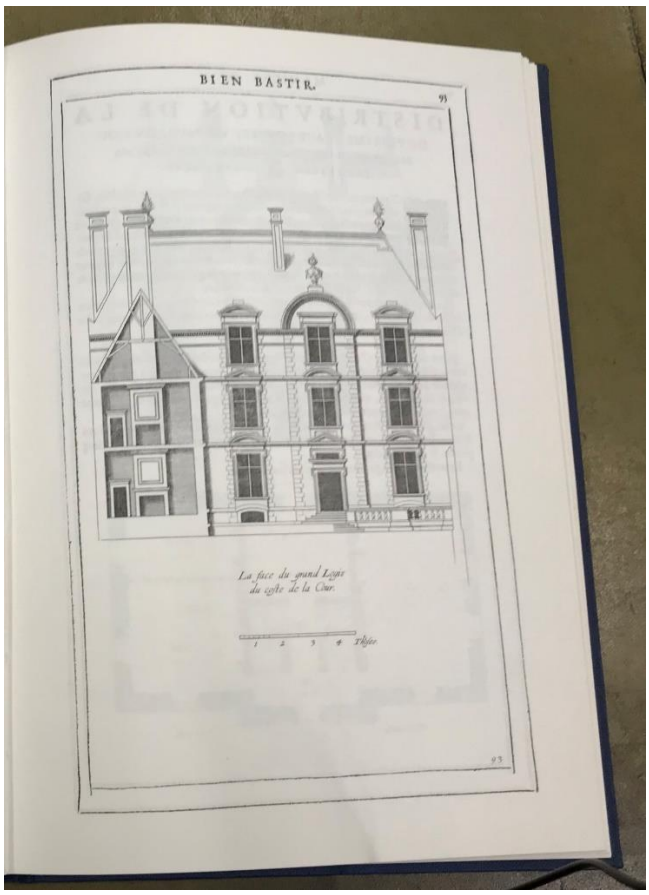


(*Figure 2.3,* Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Floor plan of Château de Marly, begun 1679)

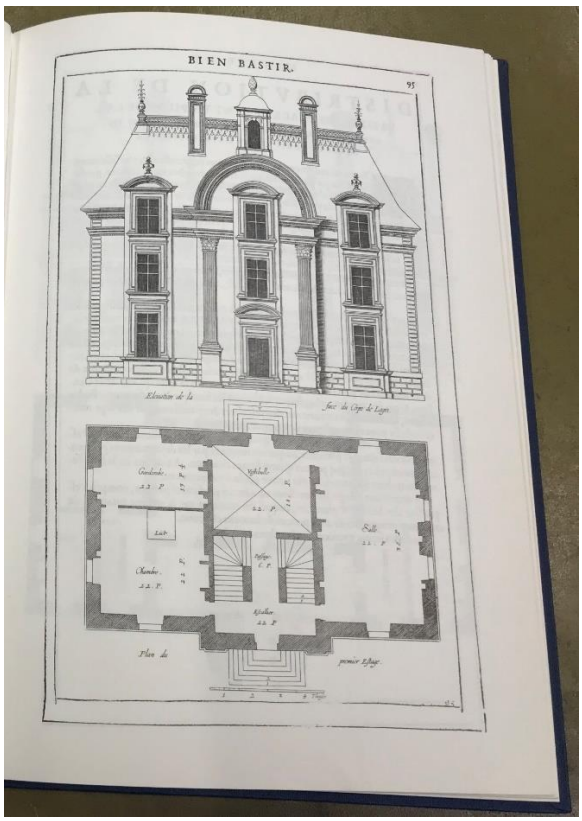
(*Figure 2.4,* Andrea Palladio, Villa Gazzotti Grimani, 1542, Bertesina, Veneto, Italy, photograph from *Wikipedia*)



(*Figure 2.5,* Pierre Le Muet, *Le Manière de Bien Bastir,* p. 7, 1623 and 1647, photograph taken by author)



(*Figure 2.6,* Pierre Le Muet, *Le Manière de Bien Bastir,* p. 93, 1623 and 1647, photograph taken by author)



(*Figure 2.7,* Pierre Le Muet, *Le Manière de Bien Bastir,* p. 95, 1623 and 1647, photograph taken by author)

Macaulay's 2012 essay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' analyses Hopetoun's stylistic influences more deeply. He begins with a discussion of Hopetoun's cupola. As he did in 1987 with his comparison of Hopetoun to Wanstead near London (which concluded that Hopetoun was the lesser of the two Palladian structures), Macaulay compares Hopetoun's cupola to its English counterparts. After discussing the introduction of domes to England from France by the intellectual circle that included Sir Christopher Wren and John Evelyn, Macaulay notes that Clarendon House and Montagu House (*Figures 2.8* and *2.9*) were two important examples of cupolas built for private houses.[239]

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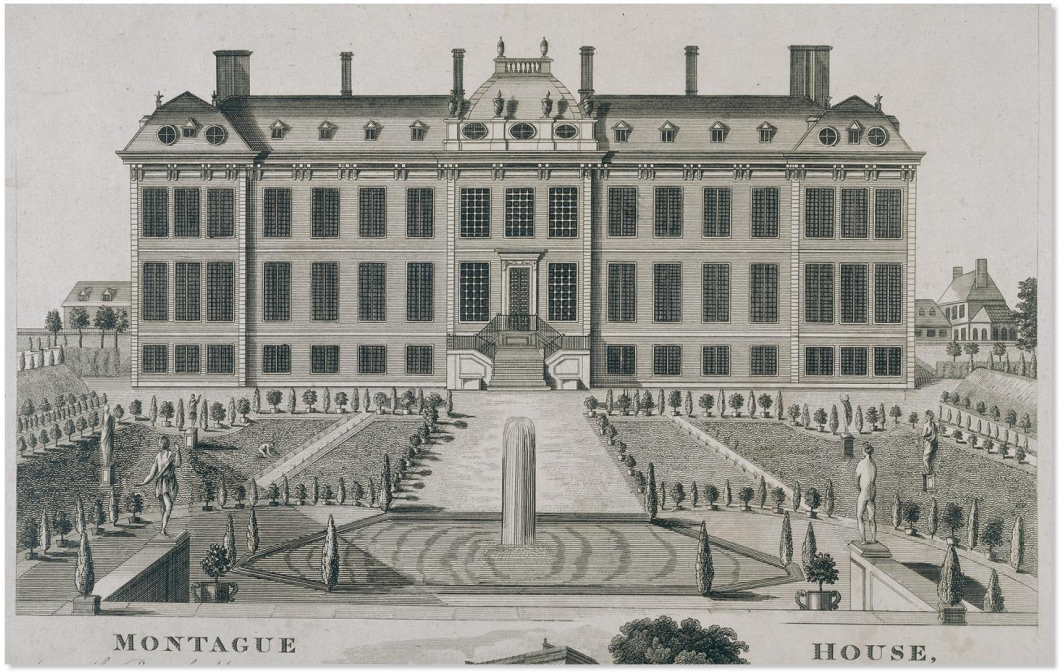
239 William Skillman from Johann Spilberg II, 'Clarendon House,' circa 1680, engraving, from *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clarendon_House#/media/File:ClarendonHouse_Circa1680Engraving_ByWmSkillmam.jpg (accessed 30 October, 2018); James Simon, 'Montague House,' 1714, engraving, from *The British Museum*, https://blog.britishmuseum.org/montagu-house-the-first-british-museum/ (accessed 30 October, 2018); James Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' *Architectural Heritage* 20, no. 1 (2009): p. 6, https://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=aae46495-175d-4635-9eb9-921dccdf9799%40sessionmgr4001&hid=4203&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d.

(*Figure 2.8,* William Skillman from Johann Spilberg II, 'Clarendon House,' circa 1680, engraving, from *Wikipedia*)



(*Figure 2.9,* James Simon, 'Montague House,' 1714, engraving, from *The British Museum*)

Ultimately, Macaulay argues that Hopetoun's cupola originates in English models (but he admits that it was through French models like Vaux-

le-Vicomte that cupolas for private house became popular in Britain). Macaulay then moves on to a discussion of Hopetoun's entrance façade and the forecourt. He reaffirms his 1987 conclusion that the floor plan, forecourt, and dome are French in origin.[240] Meanwhile, he changes his mind about origins of Hopetoun's façade: although he cited Palladio as the main source in 1987, he discussed the possible influence of French architecture on Hopetoun in 2012. Aside from Bruce's knowledge of French architecture (gained through travel, his son's travels, and architectural study), Macaulay states that the Hopes themselves were interested in French subjects. The Hopes possessed a volume of 64 engravings, inscribed 'Alexr. Eizatt Aprill 1685,' depicting French architectural subjects.[241] The Église de l'Assomption (1677) and the Château de St Cloud (1680), built for Philippe, Duke d'Orlèans were included; the former had a towering dome and the latter had a multi-storey temple motif and channelled rustication.[242] Engravings of Val-de-Grâce, Collège des Quatre-Nations, Vaux-le-Vicomte, and twenty views of Versailles were also included in this volume.[243] Val-de-Grâce and Collège des Quatre-Nations were both built with large domes. Meanwhile, as previously examined, Vaux-le-Vicomte and Versailles were massive *châteaux* whose architecture had a significant impact on palatial-type designs in this period across Europe. A second volume of 49 engravings of French subjects contains a further 17 engravings of Versailles and another of Val-de-Grâce.[244] The rest of the engravings depict *châteaux*, including eight of Clagny (*Figures 2.10* and *2.11*).[245] These two volumes of French engravings,

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240 Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 8.

241 Although there was an Alexander Eizat who carried out the wright work at Hopetoun House, this was most likely a misreading of "Alexander Edward." As will be discussed very soon, Alexander Edward travelled to France on a Grand Tour during 1701-2 and brought back these engravings to the Hopes. Alexander Eizat could not have travelled to France in that period since he was busy constructing Hopetoun! It is also essential to note that this collection of drawings was sold to the Earl of Rosebery in 1889 and its location is currently unknown.

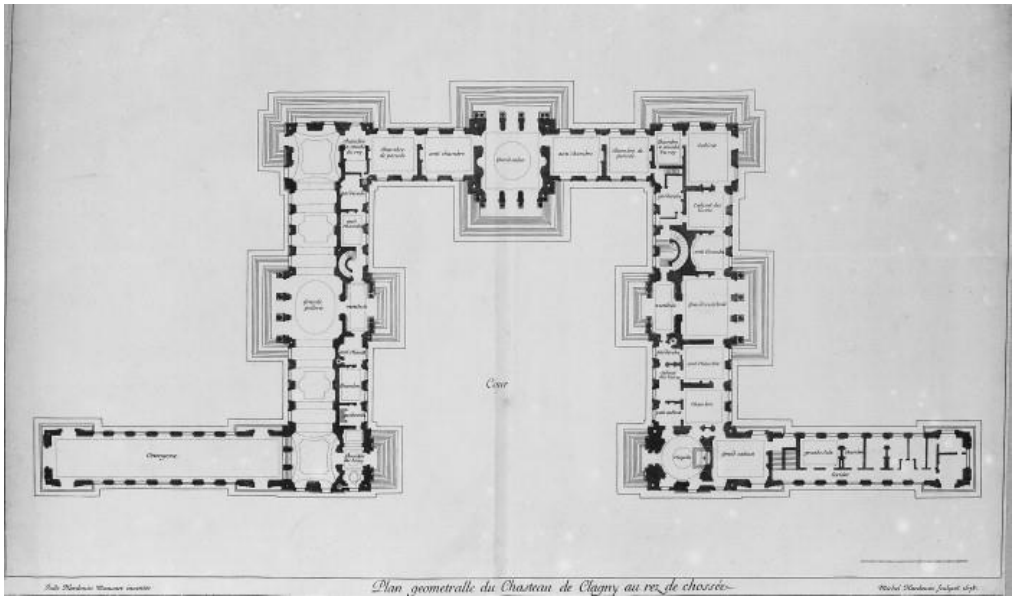
242 Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 8.

243 *Ibid.*

244 *Ibid.*

245 James Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 9. Image: Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Château de Clagny floor plan, near Versailles, 1675-1682, from *This is Versailles*, http://thisisversaillesmadame.blogspot.com/2015/04/chateau-de-clagny.html (accessed 14 June, 2018); Jules Hardoin-Mansart, Château de Clagny reconstructed aerial

a third volume, and a copy of Le Muet's *Manière de Bien Bastir* were all sold in 1889 to the Earl of Rosebery.[246] Despite some holes, Macaulay makes a strong argument supporting the notion that Bruce's Hopetoun was primarily of French influence through documentary evidence.



(*Figure 2.10,* Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Château de Clagny floor plan, near Versailles, 1675-1682 (demolished), from *This Is Versailles*)

(*Figure 2.11,* Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Château de Clagny reconstructed aerial view, near Versailles, 1675-1682, from *This Is Versailles*)

view, near Versailles, 1675-1682, from *This is Versailles*, http://thisisversaillesmadame.blogspot.com/2015/04/chateau-de-clagny.html (accessed 14 June, 2018).

246 James Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 9.

Macaulay also points out that Sir John Hope, Lady Margaret's husband, commissioned the French architect, Claude Comiers, to design an urban, French-style *hôtel* in 1680 (it was never built).[247] According to Joe Rock, Comiers's design would have replaced the Hope family's existing townhouse—built by Sir Thomas Hope in 1616—on the Cowgate just west of Libbertons Wynd (*Figures 2.12, 2.13, 2.14,* and *2.15*).[248] The Hope family's urban residence occupied a prestigious location in Edinburgh: directly below Parliament House and St. Giles' Cathedral.[249] While the Gordon of Rothiemay map of 1647 depicts Thomas Hope's residence as typical of Edinburgh's seventeenth-century edifices (tall with a ground storey loggia), Claude Comiers designed a modern, French *hôtel* for his wealthy patron, John Hope of Hopetoun. Within a broader context, the scheme for a Hopetoun *Hôtel* was another example of private builders employing Continental (French, in this case) architectural fashions during the post-Restoration period.[250] Comiers's design is reminiscent of such Parisian residences as Hôtel de Castries (*Figure 2.16*).[251] Like Castries, Hopetoun

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247 James Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 8.

248 Joe Rock, 'The Hopetoun Chest at Newhailes House,' *The Burlington Magazine* 129, no. 1013 (August, 1987): p. 518, http://www.jstor.org/stable/883102?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=the&searchText=hopetoun&searchText=chest&searchText=at&searchText=newhailes&searchText=house&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dthe%2Bhopetoun%2Bchest%2Bat%2Bnewhailes%2Bhouse%26amp%3Bacc%3Don%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3Bgroup%3Dnone&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents; Claude Comiers, *L'Hostel d'Hopton: Joe Rock Schema of Original Design,* 1680, from Joe Rock, 'John Hope's House in Edinburgh, 1680,' *Joe Rock's Research Pages,* publication date unknown, https://sites.google.com/site/joerocksresearchpages/home/john-hope-s-house-in-edinburgh-1680 (accessed 22 March, 2016); James Gordon of Rothiemay, Bird's Eye View of Edinburgh with a Close-up of Libbertons Wynd, 1647, from National Library of Scotland, 'Bird's Eye View of Edinburgh in 1647/by James Gordon of Rothiemay,' *National Library of Scotland*, http://maps.nls.uk/view/102190447#zoom=5&lat=2603&lon=3731&layers=BT (accessed 22 March, 2016); 'Aerial View of Edinburgh, at George IV Bridge and the Cowgate,' 2016, *Google Maps*, (Edinburgh, Scotland), https://www.google.co.uk/maps/place/George+IV+Bridge,+Edinburgh+EH1+1EJ/@55.9484316,-3.1946275,210m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x4887c79ad366e825:0x24a8a99e1b14ae58?hl=en (accessed 22 March, 2016)

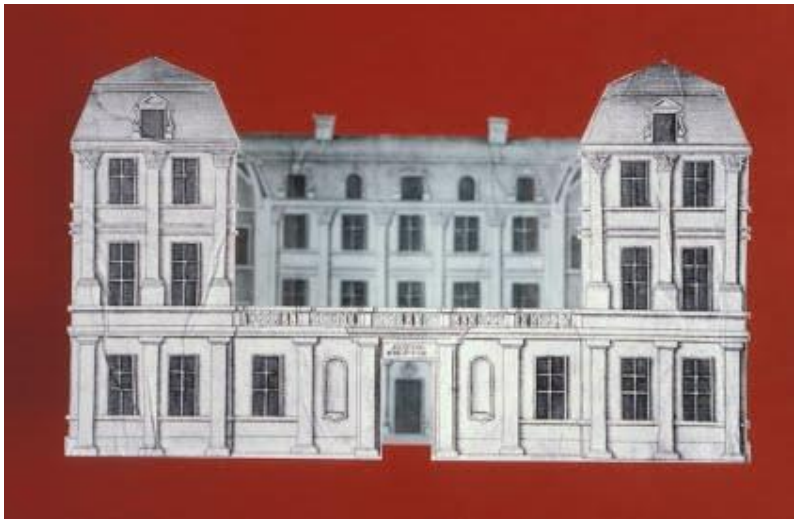
249 Rock, 'The Hopetoun Chest,' p. 518.

250 Rock, 'The Hopetoun Chest,' p. 517; Gifford, pp. 51, 82; Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (London: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995), p. 75.

251 Anton Otto after Jean-Louis Prieur, *Plundering the Hotel de Castries in the suburb of St. Germain-Paris on 13 November, 1790*, ca. 1815, etching, 42x31.3 cm, from AKG Images, 'Plundering the Hotel de Castries in the suburb of St. Germain-Paris on 13 November, 1790,'

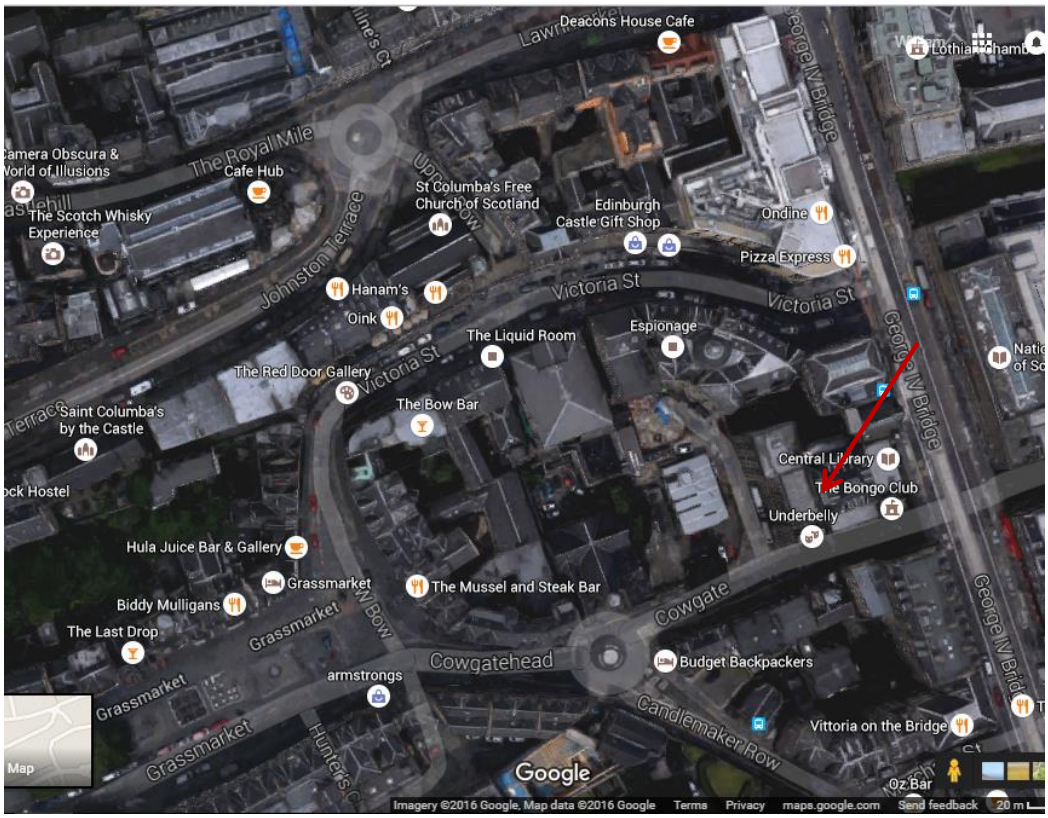
Hôtel was a U-shaped structure with a ground storey gateway leading into a central courtyard. Unlike Castries, Comiers's design was not astylar: each bay of the ground storey was marked with squat Doric pilasters, which then support visually the giant Corinthian pilasters that frame each bay of the upper two floors. It is clear that French fashion and culture appealed to the Hope family's cosmopolitan sensibilities well before Lady Margaret commissioned Hopetoun House.

(*Figure 2.12,* View of Libbertons Wynd and the Hope Family Townhouse, Gordon of Rothiemay Map of Edinburgh, 1647. Grassmarket is on the left, which filters into the Cowgate)



(*Figure 2.13,* Claude Comiers, *L'Hostel d'Hopton : Joe Rock Schema of Original Design*, 1680)

AKG Images, http://www.akg-images.co.uk/archive/Plundering-the-Hotel-de-Castries-in-the-suburb-of-St.-Germain-Paris-on-13-November-1790-2UMDHUUB1TA2.html#/SearchResult&ITEMID=2UMDHUUB1TA2&POPUPPN=1&POPUPIID=2UMDHUUB1TA2 (accessed 22 March, 2016); image found courtesy of Mark McClean, Newhailes House, National Trust for Scotland.



(*Figure 2.14,* Contemporary View of George IV Bridge and the Cowgate, with original location of Hope family townhouse indicated, GoogleMaps)


(*Figure 2.15,* Contemporary View of Edinburgh's George IV Bridge and the Side of the Cowgate Closest to High Street, which is the Approximate Location of the Seventeenth-Century Hope Family Residence, photo courtesy of author)

(*Figure 2.16*, Anton Otto after Jean-Louis Prieur, *Plundering the Hotel de Castries in the suburb of St. Germain-Paris on 13 November, 1790*, ca. 1815, etching, 42x31.3 cm)

Deborah Howard's chapter in *Scottish Country Houses: 1600-1914* (1995) analyses the Italian elements of Bruce's design for Hopetoun House.[252] Before discussing those sources, Howard first points out that the similarities between Kinross House and Hopetoun (such as in their chimneys and rustication) are not a coincidence: Hopetoun's contract explicitly references Kinross as a model.[253] More importantly, Bruce used Kinross as a model in Hopetoun's overall layout and landscape design. Bruce designed the main axis of Kinross to fall in line with Loch Leven Castle, making it part of the house's landscape design. Similarly, Abercorn Castle, Abercorn Kirk, and North Berwick Law were incorporated as important landmarks into Hopetoun's landscape design to the west and east, respectively (although in a more politic way).[254] Bruce understood that this was an important symbolic

252 Howard, pp. 53-68
253 Howard, p. 55.
254 *Ibid.*

tool in showcasing a country house owner's prestige and regional prominence. In addition, Bruce designed French-style *parterres* for Hopetoun as he had at Kinross.[255] Howard argues that Hopetoun's garden design ultimately influenced its Greek-cross, *parterre*-like floor plan.[256] In short, Howard's first point of reference in her stylistic analysis of Hopetoun is Bruce's own lifework.

She argues that any refinement of the floor plan of Hopetoun's main block came from Bruce's rich architectural knowledge and experience, which 'grew out of the wealth of European tradition dating back more than two centuries.'[257] Centralised floor plans had an enormous impact on domestic and religious architecture during the Italian Renaissance and Howard notes that Hopetoun was not the first building to arrange four suites of rooms around a central space.[258] The first known house to do this was Giuliano da Sangallo's Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, built for Lorenzo il Magnifico.[259] Howard states that the innovation of this Medici villa not only stemmed from its symmetry, but also from the fact that it had a temple front on its façade, a rectangular central hall, an H-shaped plan, and was raised on a square terrace.[260] Arranging floor plans around a central, circular hall also became a theme of sixteenth-century villas, such as Falconetto's Odeo Cornaro in Padua.[261] More importantly, Francis I's Château de Chambord, designed by Domenico da Cortona in 1519, was the first major domestic building to make the staircase the central focus of its floor plan (*Figure 2.17*).[262] Chambord also had its apartments arranged symmetrically around the central staircase.[263] Palladio featured Chambord's staircase in the first book of *I*

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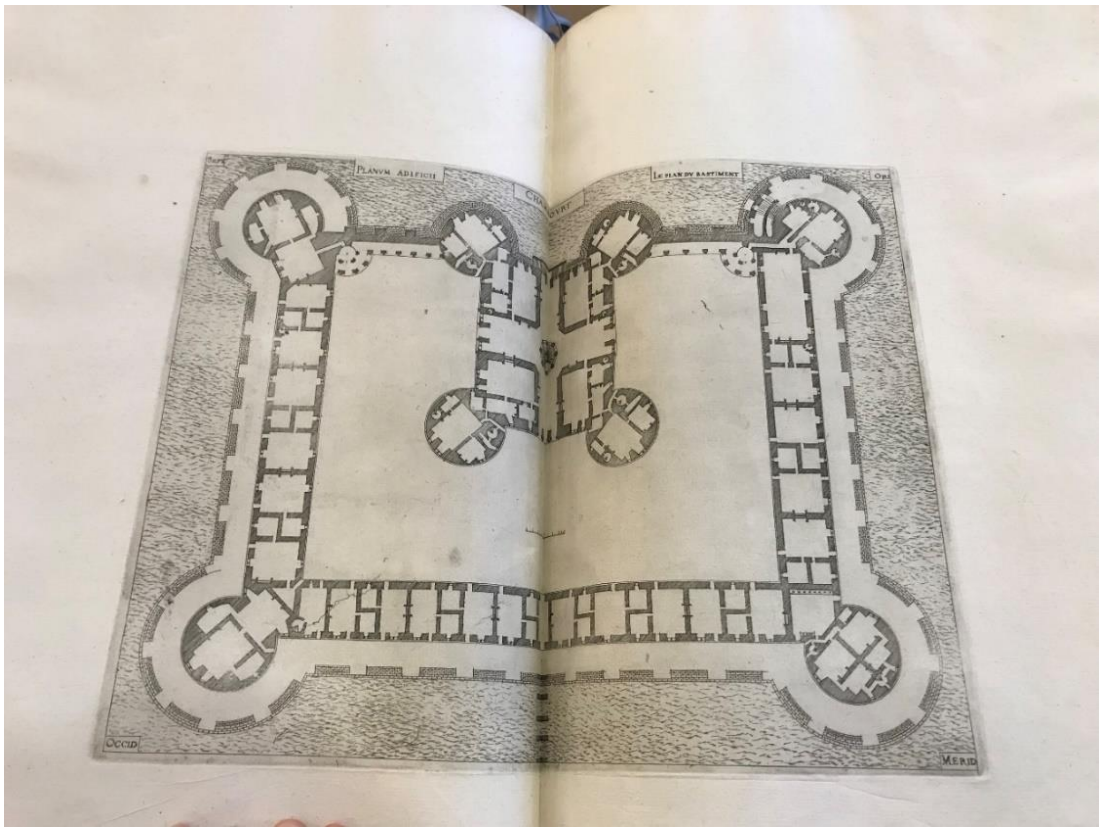
255 *Ibid.*
256 *Ibid.*
257 *Ibid*.
258 *Ibid.*
259 Howard, p. 55.
260 Howard, p. 55.
261 Howard, p. 56.
262 Howard, p. 57; Domenico da Cortona, Château de Chambord Floor plan, Blois, begun 1519, engraving by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France,* volume 1 (Paris: 1607), Newb.4962, NLS.
263 Howard, p. 57.

Quattro Libri, praising these corner apartments.[264] Jacques Androuet du Cerceau did the same again in *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*.[265] Not only did Bruce have a copy of *I Quattro Libri,* but his son also visited Chambord during his Continental tour from 1681-3 and dutifully described the *château* in letters home to his father.[266] There are, indeed, strong connections between Chambord and Bruce's designs for Hopetoun.



(*Figure 2.17,* Domenico da Cortona, Château de Chambord Floor plan, Blois, begun 1519, engraving by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France,* volume 1)

She continues her analysis of Hopetoun's floor plan by pointing out that Alexander Edward draughted Marly's floor plan after Hopetoun's initial design was made.[267] As such, she does not believe that Marly was a direct inspiration. Instead, she makes the case that a villa design from plate 43 of

264 *Ibid.*
265 *Ibid.*
266 *Ibid.* Also, see: Mr George Leslie, 'Account of Books Purchased,' 21 December 1676, purchasing account, GD29/263/10, National Records of Scotland [NRS], Edinburgh, UK; Mr. George Leslie, 'Account of Books Purchased,' 13 July 1675, GD29/263/10, NRS.
267 Howard, pp. 58-9.

Serlio's Book VI served as a better model, as did Palladio's Villa Capra (*Figures 2.18* and *2.19*).[268] Both had apartments arranged around a central hall, while the latter was top-lit by the dome.[269] She also compares the layout of Hopetoun's corner apartments and position of the chimneys at the centre of each corner block (allowing for corner fireplaces) to Inigo Jones's Queen's House at Greenwich (*Figure 2.20*).[270] Howard makes another comparison of Hopetoun's entrance façade to a French architectural drawing that was in the Hopetoun collection (*Figure 2.21*).[271] It depicts a seven-bay and two-storey house with a three-bay pedimented centrepiece that is arcaded on the ground storey.[272] She also notes the similarities between the temple motifs of Hopetoun's entrance façade and Villa Barbaro a Maser's façade (*Figure 2.22*).[273] Howard concludes that Hopetoun's floor plan and façade are Italianate (mostly Serlian and Palladian) while acknowledging its ties to French prototypes.

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268 Howard, p. 59. Images: Sebastiano Serlio, edited by Nan Rosenfeld, *On Domestic Architecture: Different Dwellings from the Meanest Hovel to the Most Ornate Palace: The Sixteenth-Century Manuscript of Book VI in the Avery Library of Columbia University* (London: MIT Press, 1978; manuscript dates to circa 1540), plate 43 (I would like to thank Ian Campbell for helping me find this design); Andrea Palladio, 'Villa Capra,' engraving from *I Quattro Libri,* 1570, from *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_Capra_%22La_Rotonda%22#/media/File:PalladioRotondaPlan.jpg (accessed 30 October, 2018).

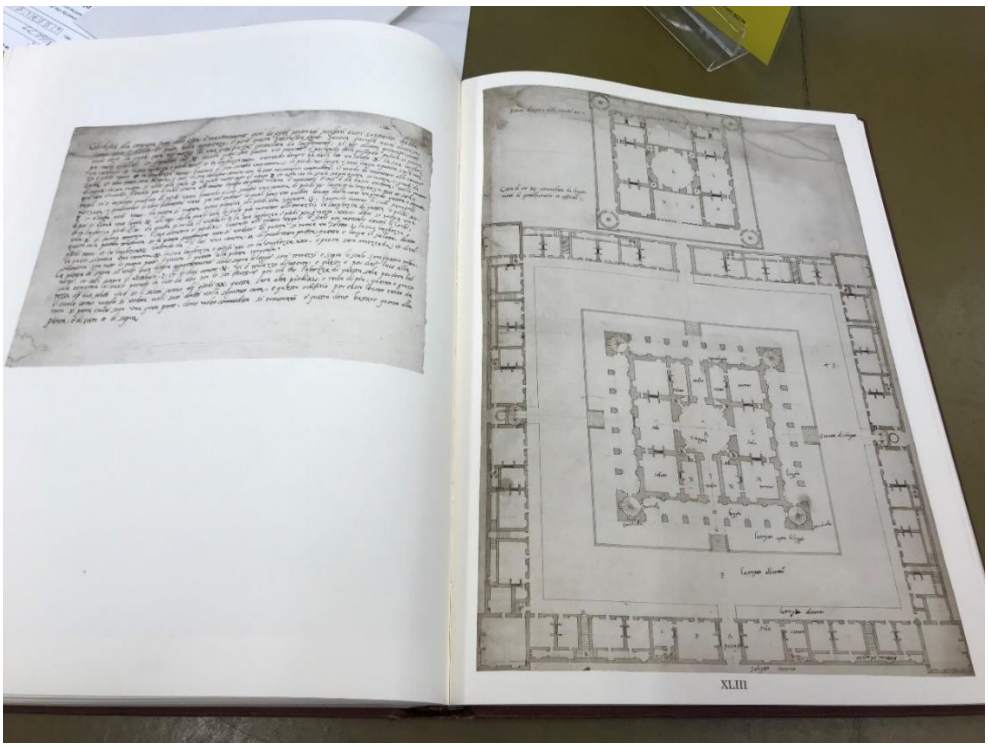
269 *Ibid.*

270 Howard, p. 60. Image: Inigo Jones, Plan of Queen's House, 1616-1635, Greenwich, from *Royal Museums Greenwich*, https://prints.rmg.co.uk/products/floor-plans-of-the-queens-house-l4552 (30 October, 2018).

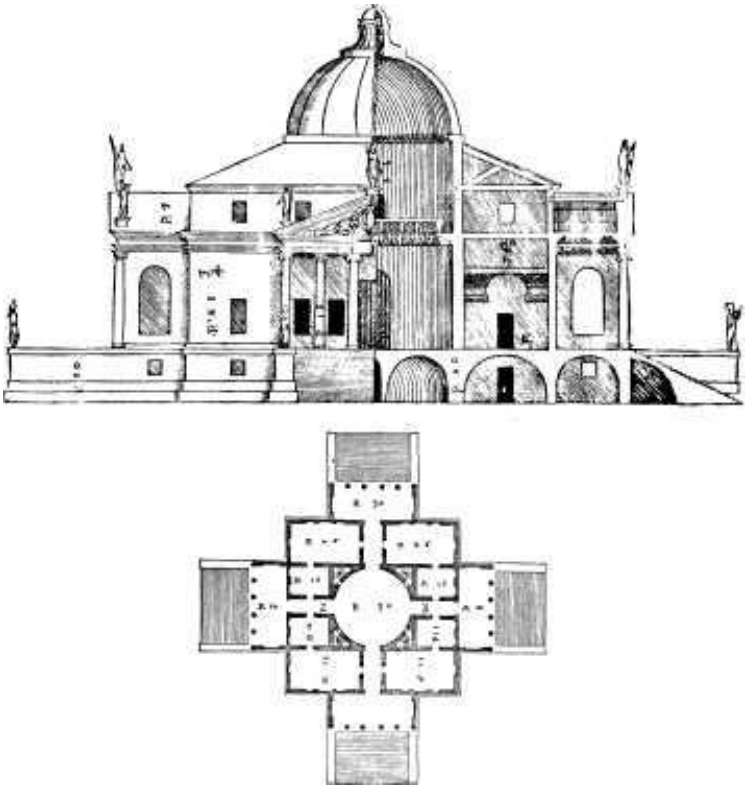
271 Howard, p. 58. Image: Unknown Artist, 'Seven-Bay Façade,' eighteenth-century, architectural drawing, from Hopetoun temp. drawings, Unit 12584, John Sinclair House, Historic Environment Scotland [HES], Edinburgh, UK. It should be noted that while the date for this drawing is unknown, a good portion the other drawings and drawings in this collection come from later in the eighteenth century (from the 1730s to the 1790s). Although this drawing is astonishingly similar to the central seven bays of Hopetoun's Brucian east elevation, its dating (and therefore its relevance to Bruce's design process) should be taken with a grain of salt.

272 *Ibid.*

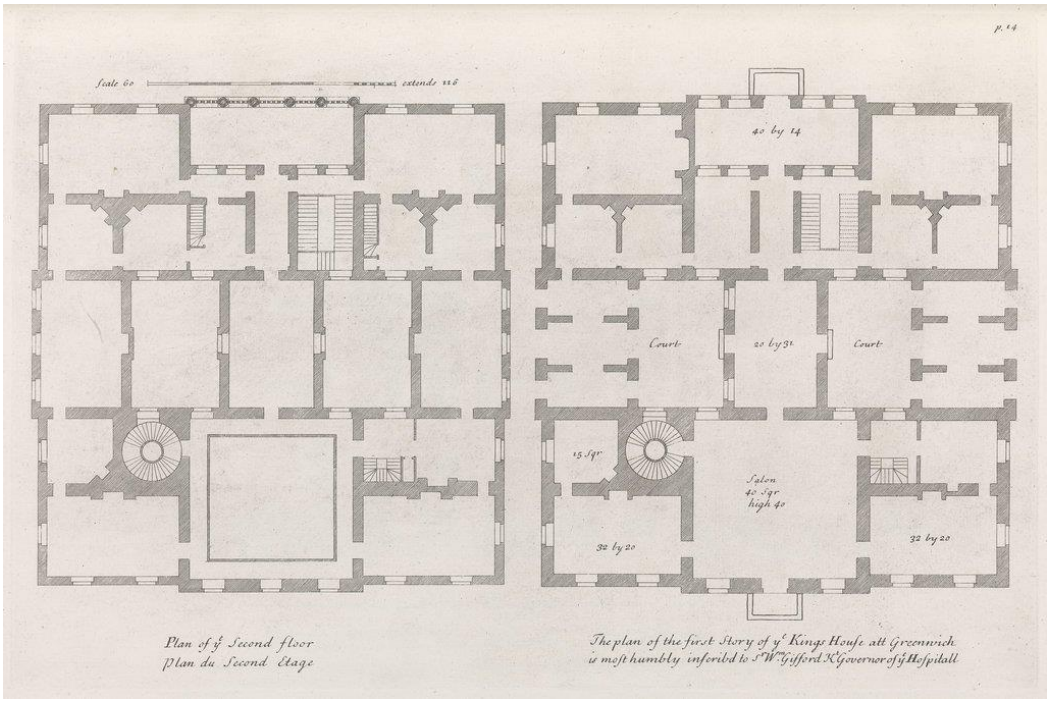
273 Howard, p. 60. Image: Andrea Palladio, Villa Barbaro a Maser, 1554-1560, Triveso, from *Italian Ways*, http://www.italianways.com/palladios-last-days-at-villa-barbaro-in-maser/ (accessed 30 October, 2018).



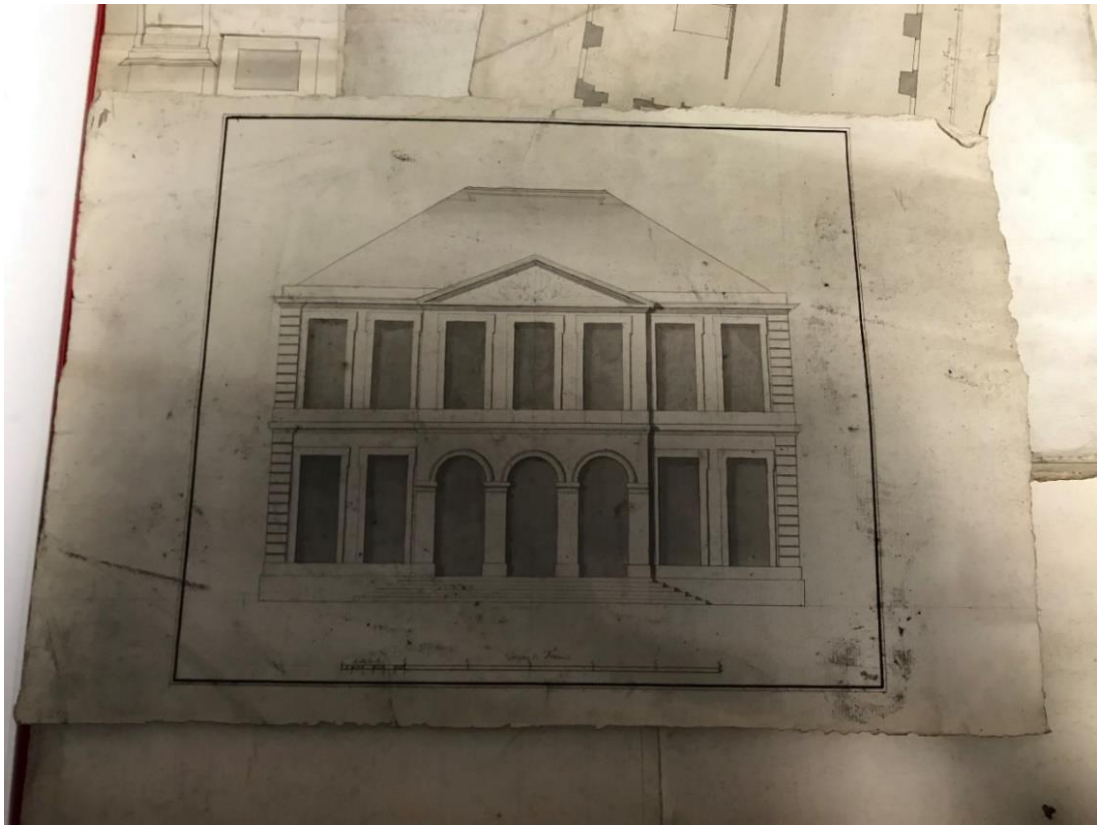
(*Figure 2.18,* Sebastiano Serlio, Villa Design, plate 43, Book VI: *On Domestic Architecture*, circa 1540, photograph taken by author)



(*Figure 2.19,* Andrea Palladio, 'Villa Capra,' engraving from *I Quattro Libri,* 1570, from *Wikipedia*)



(*Figure 2.20,* Inigo Jones, Plan of Queen's House, 1616-1635, Greenwich, from *Royal Museums Greenwich*)



(*Figure 2.21,* Unknown Artist, 'Seven-Bay Façade,' eighteenth-century, architectural drawing, from Hopetoun temp. drawings, Unit 12584, John Sinclair House, Historic Environment Scotland [HES], Edinburgh, UK)

(*Figure 2.22,* Andrea Palladio, Villa Barbaro a Maser, 1554-1560, Triveso, from *Italian Ways*)

Years later, Konrad Ottenheym highlights the Dutch elements of Bruce's design for Hopetoun through the patrons' and architect's connections to the Low Countries. He discusses the Dutch elements of Bruce's architecture through three case studies: Holyrood Palace, Kinross House, and Hopetoun House.[274] The paper begins by summarising the popularisation of Classical architecture (alla Scamozzi) in Holland (which was discussed in greater detail in the aforementioned book, *The Low Countries at the Crossroads*) .[275] He specifically emphasises that the use of Classical architecture in this period in Holland was not restricted to the royal court as it was in England. Instead, the qualities of sobriety, strict adherence to the orders, and restrained use of ornamentation were appealing to the wealthy mercantile and professional ranks (of a variety of ethnicities and religions) in the Dutch Republic.[276] The spread of Classical architecture in Holland set an important precedent: it showed that Italian models could be adapted to the damp and cold climates of northwestern Europe.[277] Ottenheym states that, combined with the fact that neighbouring countries felt envy and admiration

274 Ottenheym, pp. 135-49.
275 Ottenheym, pp. 135-7.
276 Ottenheym, pp. 136-7.
277 Ottenheym, p. 137.

for the wealth and economic power of the Dutch Republic, it is no wonder that taste for sober, Scamozzi-style Classicism spread to England and Scotland.[278] He also points out that patrons in the British Isles did not commission Dutch architects. Rather, English and Scottish architects looked to models in the Dutch Republic.[279] Having travelled to both England (where, according to Ottenheym, he supposedly worked on Ham House) and the Dutch Republic, William Bruce had ample opportunity to study the latest tastes in Classical architecture.[280]

While living in Holland in the late 1650s, Bruce would have witnessed the construction of Pieter Post's Maastricht Townhall (*Figure 2.23*).[281] Bruce returned to Scotland in 1660 and began his political career. He was made Surveyor-General and Overseer of the King's Works in Scotland (the equivalent position to Sir Christopher Wren's in England) in 1671.[282] With this background established, Ottenheym began his three case studies; of most interest here is his analysis of Hopetoun House. He states that the Hopes were closely linked to the royal court of William III and Mary II, particularly through Patrick Home, the First Earl of Marchmont.[283] He states that it was this connection that led the Hopes to William Bruce. As an aside, it should be pointed out that William Bruce designed Craigiehall for the First Marquess of Annandale, who became Charles Hope's father-in-law in 1699. Even more significantly, Bruce renovated Craighall Castle for William Hope, the Fifth Baronet of Craighall (Charles Hope's cousins and William Bruce's grandson) in 1697.[284] Both of these connections are much more realistic explanations for how the Hopes of Hopetoun became acquainted with Bruce. Returning to Ottenheym's text, he observes that the main block and flanking pavilions

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278 *Ibid.*

279 *Ibid.* It should also be noted that this trend also occurred with French and Italian architecture.

280 Ottenheym, p. 139.

281 Ottenheym, p. 140; Pieter Post, Maastricht Townhall, begun 1658, from *Netherlands Tourism*, http://www.netherlands-tourism.com/maastricht/ (accessed 15 June, 2018).

282 Ottenheym, p. 141.

283 Ottenheym, p. 144.

284 Aonghus MacKechnie, 'Introduction: Sir William Bruce and Architecture in Early Modern Scotland,' *Architectural Heritage* 23, no. 1 (Nov, 2012): p. 3, https://www-euppublishing-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.3366/arch.2012.0030.

were connected in the same way at Hopetoun House as at Het Loo (enlarged 1689-91), the summer residence of William III and Mary II (*Figure 2.24*).[285] Hopetoun's unique ground floor plan otherwise greatly resembled that of Middachten Castle, which also had a central staircase crowned by a double-shell dome and a lantern (*Figure 2.25*).[286] By contrast, Otteheym argues that Hopetoun's entrance façade bore only a superficial appearance to Dutch models and was closer to its English counterparts.[287]

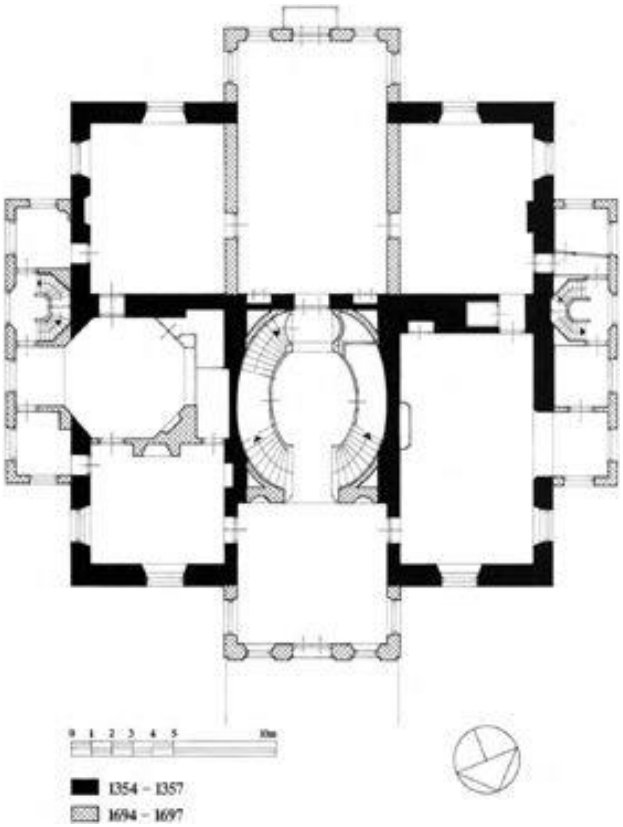
(*Figure 2.23,* Pieter Post, Maastricht Townhall, begun 1658, from *Netherlands Tourism*)

285 Ottenheym, p. 144. Image: Jacob Roman, Johan van Swieten, and Daniel Marot, Het Loo Palace Floor plan, 1684-6, Apeldoorn, from *Pinterest*, https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/684899055800882594/ (accessed 31 October, 2018).

286 Ottenheym, pp. 144-5. Image: Jacob Roman and Steven Vennecool, Middachten Castle, completed 1698, De Steeg, from *Pinterest*, https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/347410558724894091/ (accessed 31 October, 2018).

287 Ottenheym, p. 145.

(*Figure 2.24,* Jacob Roman, Johan van Swieten, and Daniel Marot, Het Loo Palace Floor plan, 1684-6, Apeldoorn, from *Pinterest*)



(*Figure 2.25,* Jacob Roman and Steven Vennecool, Middachten Castle, completed 1698, De Steeg, from *Pinterest*)

John Lowrey also made a significant contribution to Hopetoun's historiography in two of his articles. The first, 'Practical Palladianism: The Scottish Country House and the concept of the villa in the late seventeenth century' (2007), focuses broadly on the connection between the first stages of agricultural improvement in the late seventeenth century and the contemporary taste for Palladian country houses among the nobility and landed gentry.[288] He argues that there was a direct correlation between the conspicuous consumption of the country house and the economic activity of the estate.[289] Significantly, the most prominent group that drove agricultural improvement in this early period were the business-minded members of the mercantile and professional gentry, as well as the new aristocracy (the Hopes belonged to both groups). Not only were they driven to build up their landholdings—which was essential to being a Scottish peer—they simply wanted to make more money.[290] Influenced by their neighbours in Holland, Scottish country house estates in the seventeenth century 'were economic landscapes first and foremost.'[291] Indeed, 'people understood very well that the two areas of activity were connected and that the grander and more lavish aspects of country house living had to be supported by things that made money, primarily the activity of the estate itself.'[292] Alexander Edward—who was an architect, surveyor, draughtsman, garden designer, and regular collaborator of Bruce's—aided in developing these changes to the landscape.[293]

Upon Edward's return from his Grand Tour of England, Holland, and France in 1702, he applied his newfound knowledge and experience to his landscape and garden designs in Scotland (many of them were made for the

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288 John Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism: The Scottish Country House and the concept of the villa in the late seventeenth century,' *Architectural Heritage* 18, no. 1 (Nov, 2007): pp. 151-167, https://www-euppublishing-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.3366/arch.2007.18.1.151.

289 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 151.

290 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 152.

291 *Ibid.*

292 *Ibid.*

293 *Ibid.*

numerous aristocratic patrons who paid for his journey).[294] However, Edward's journey and projects were the result of current architectural and economic trends rather than a catalyst of new fashions. Lowrey points out that Palladio's *I Quattro Libri* was an extremely popular treatise among this social echelon in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[295] Many of the changes instigated by Scottish improvers in the seventeenth century mirrored what Venetian patricians did in the Veneto during the sixteenth.[296] As such, 'it was not only the architecture of the Scottish countryside that was increasingly influenced by the Palladian villas of the Veneto, but the agricultural practices as well and, in that sense, agriculture and architecture were closely intertwined.'[297] Palladio's villa designs were, of course, predominantly concerned with marrying classical architecture with the practical needs of the farmhouse.[298]

Modern, Palladian houses were built alongside agricultural and land changes at the end of the seventeenth century; this is a key area where business and fashion were deeply intertwined.[299] Lowrey details a number of Palladian features (that were simultaneously Classical and agricultural) that became part of Scottish country houses.[300] There is one in particular Lowrey references specifically in relation to Hopetoun: its convex quadrants.[301] He observes that this unique twist of a feature common to Bruce's body of work could have derived from Bruce's misreading of Palladio's Villa Mocenigo (*Figure 2.26*).[302] Essentially, Bruce may have looked at the floor plan of the

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294 John Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity and Britannia on Edge: Landscape Design and the Work of Sir William Bruce and Alexander Edward,' *Architectural Heritage* 23, no. 1 (Nov, 2012): pp. 57-74, particularly pp. 67-8, https://www-euppublishing-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.3366/arch.2012.0033.

295 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 154.

296 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 156.

297 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 154.

298 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' pp. 158-9.

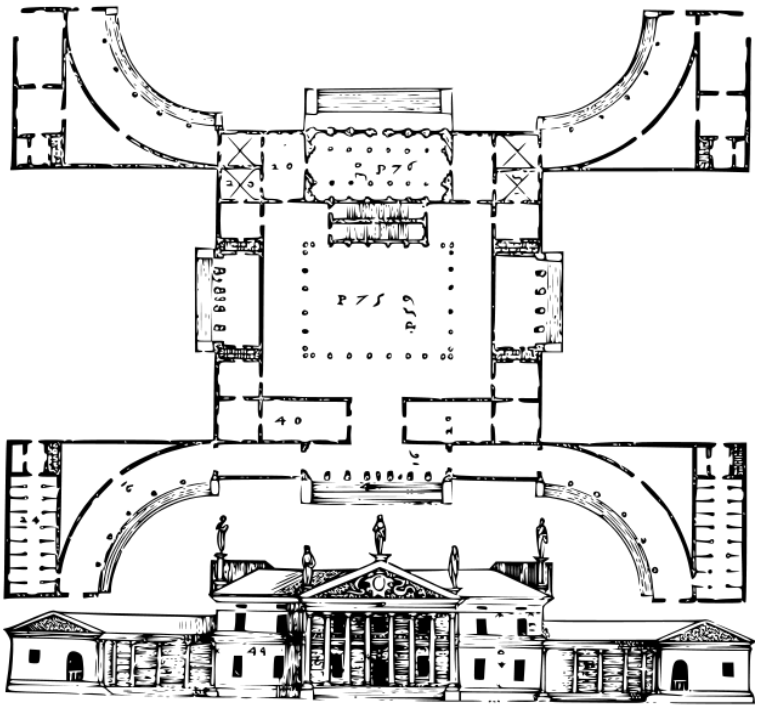
299 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 156.

300 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' pp. 159-65.

301 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 165.

302 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 165; Andrea Palladio, Villa Mocenigo, Marocco, Veneto, circa 1560-1, from *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:VillaMocenigoFromQuattroLibri.svg (accessed 26 June, 2018).

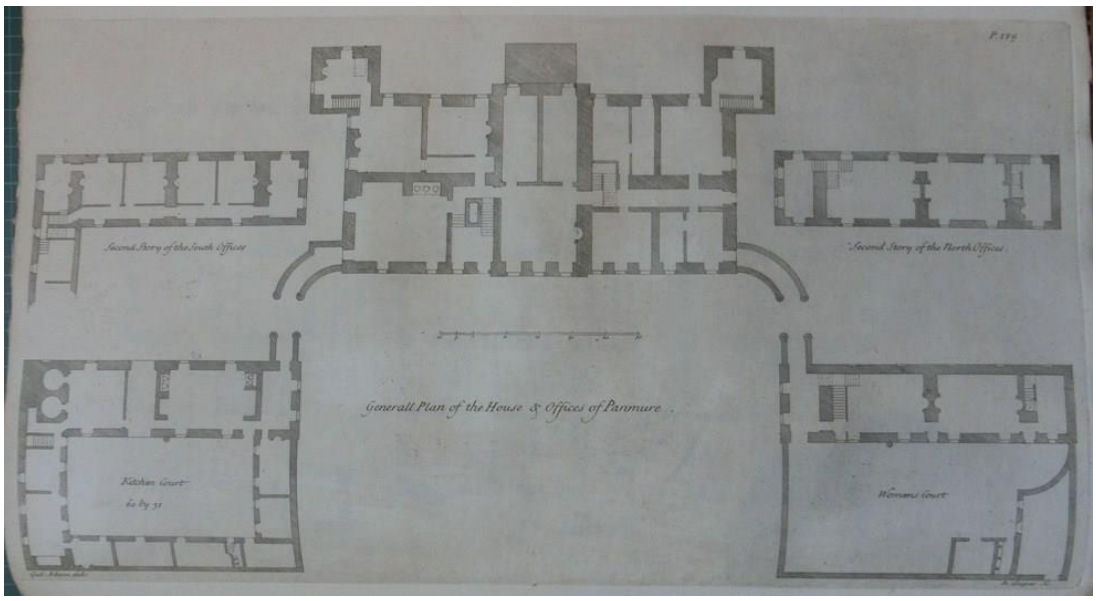
four-sided Villa Mocenigo sideways, which would make the colonnades appear convex. Lowrey also observes that Hopetoun's quadrants resembled the convex colonnades at Panmure House if one viewed them from the entrance side of the house rather than the garden side. Hopetoun's colonnades also functioned similarly to both Panmure and Kinross House (*Figure 2.27*).[303] Like its Palladian predecessors and Brucian contemporaries, Hopetoun's quadrants hid the offices from view, yet also connected the main house to the stables and unified the entire house spatially and visually.[304] In other words, Lowrey argues that Hopetoun was part of these early stages of agricultural improvement in Scotland. Perhaps even more significantly, it made practical—not just stylistic—use of Palladianism.



(*Figure 2.26,* Andrea Palladio, Villa Mocenigo, Marocco, Veneto, circa 1560-1, from *Wikimedia Commons*)

303 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' pp. 163-5; John Mylne and Alexander Nisbet, Panmure House, Forfarshire, 1660s, William Bruce, Panmure House Offices and Quadrants, Forfarshire, 1695-7 and 1698, from *Google Sites*, https://sites.google.com/site/researchpages2/home/vitruvius-scoticus (accessed 19 June, 2018).

304 *Ibid.*



(*Figure 2.27,* John Mylne and Alexander Nisbet, Panmure House, Forfarshire, 1660s, William Bruce, Panmure House Offices and Quadrants, Forfarshire, 1695-7 and 1698, from *Google Sites*)

Hopetoun's wings themselves are a labyrinthine series of small, rectangular rooms linked together by single corridors. Combined with the fact that the wings are hidden from view in the inner courtyard by the convex, eight-bay colonnades, it is clear that the wings were not meant to serve any aesthetic or formal functions. The wings were designed to support the public spaces as offices. As previously discussed, service areas had to be made as invisible as possible in order to hide the immense labour it took to run a picture-perfect aristocratic household. This was not a new concept. According to Palladio: 'we too when building should place the most important and prestigious parts in full view and the less beautiful in locations concealed as far from our eyes as possible.'[305] Bruce had already experimented with this feature at Kinross House, Panmure, and Craigiehall.[306] While Bruce did create spatial hierarchies within Hopetoun's main house in hiding the service areas from the view of polite spaces, the colonnades also played an important role in containing the inner courtyard and areas of display in a

[305] Andrea Palladio, translated by Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield, *The Four Books of Architecture* (London: The MIT Press, 2002), pp. 77-8.
[306] Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 163.

cohesive whole. Lowrey's second article examines the formal and symbolic elements of Hopetoun's landscape design.

Lowrey discussed Hopetoun again in his essay, 'A Prospect on Antiquity and Britannia on Edge: Landscape Design and the Work of Sir William Bruce and Alexander Edward' (2012).[307] Scottish estates were dual in nature: 'while the gridded, productive landscape of the Netherlands undoubtedly influenced Scotland, so too did the grander, baroque landscapes of France.'[308] The formal and the productive were designed and created together on Scottish estates. Lowrey then focuses on the dual identity of the formal Scottish landscape in the late seventeenth century. On the one hand, it was heavily influenced by the European (especially French) Baroque garden. On the other, it was integrated into the surrounding countryside, incorporating key natural and manmade landmarks; the latter concept has been termed by Lowrey as the 'Scottish historical landscape.'[309] Bruce and Edward were leaders in this style of landscape design. At Kinross, a dominating axial avenue extended from Loch Leven Castle, penetrated through Kinross House itself, and terminated at the town.[310] This explicitly showcased Bruce's belief that he was the inheritor of the illustrious Bruce family history (though he was a member of a minor Branch of the family).[311]

Meanwhile, Edward's approach to landscape design emphasised open vistas rather than having dominating axes terminate on single objects.[312] At Kinnaird Castle near Brechin, he designed an elaborate, French-style parterre garden with terraces for the west side of the castle.[313] From the castle and gardens, diagonal avenues extended into the countryside beyond.[314] This ultimately incorporated a multitude of landmarks, near and far: the old church and manse-house close to the house; the new church and

307 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' pp. 57-74.
308 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 58.
309 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 57.
310 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 59.
311 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' pp. 59-60.
312 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 60.
313 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 62.
314 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' pp. 62-4.

burial ground to the west; Fernall Castle outside the estate walls to the southeast; and Turrin Hill five miles away, near Forfar.[315] As the area was the site of a major Iron Age, Pictish fort, Kinnaird's landscape also had ties to Scotland's ancient past.[316] Kinnaird thus incorporated its local and recent history, as well as its archaeological and mythic past.[317] In this sense, Kinnaird's landscape design stands in contrast to Hopetoun House's.

At face value, Hopetoun's landscape did not differ greatly from Bruce and Edward's other designs, including Kinnaird's. Indeed, 'as at Kinnaird, [Hopetoun's landscape design] combines the central, axial approach with diagonals leading out into the wider landscape; indeed the coastline to the west of the house, very much encourages this.'[318] Hopetoun's dominant axis aligned with the ruins of Inchgarvie (just two miles away) and Berwick Law (twenty miles away).[319] At the same time, Hopetoun's main avenue also gives uninterrupted, panoramic views of the surrounding countryside.[320] Edward combined this broad design with a garden, complete with terraces and *parterres*, all of which was heavily influenced by French design.[321] As James Macaulay stated above, the Hopes had a huge number of French garden and architectural engravings in their library. Since Charles Hope was one of the patrons who funded his Grand Tour, these were all brought to him by Alexander Edward himself.[322] Edward also designed and carried out the garden design at Hopetoun himself upon his return, which meant he had French gardens (such as the one at St Germain) fresh in his mind.[323] Hopetoun's landscape was, in a sense, a refined version of Kinnaird's. Edward also designed a highly unique feature at Hopetoun: the Sea Terrace (circa 1703-5), which is a walk that leads from the house to the remains of Abercorn Castle that gives panoramic views of the Forth River and Fife

315 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' pp. 64-5.
316 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 65.
317 *Ibid.*
318 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 67.
319 *Ibid.*
320 *Ibid.*
321 *Ibid.*
322 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' pp. 67-8.
323 *Ibid.*

beyond.[324] It is not a formal terrace, but rather a continuous walk that resembles the broad terrace between the Palace of St Germain and the River Seine.[325] The Sea Terrace thus has French connotations.

Edward also had bastions and embrasures built along the west end of the walk near Abercorn Castle, which resemble fortifications and give views towards Fife.[326] This is significant given the fact that the Antonine Wall (built by Antonius Pius) terminates close-by at Carriden.[327] Sir Robert Sibbald believed that it instead terminated at Abercorn, that Abercorn Castle was originally a Roman outlook tower, and that there was a Roman fort at Society Hill (which is to the northeast of Hopetoun's main house).[328] What is more, Sibbald believed that Hadrian's Wall terminated in East Lothian rather than Northumbria, which further underscores his argument that the Scottish Lowlands were part of Britannia rather than Caledonia.[329] This is highly significant to the construction of Hopetoun House. According to Lowrey: 'what emerges from Sibbald here is the idea that Hopetoun forms the end of the Antonine Wall and that the ancient Castle provided a link between the Hopes and the dawn of "civilisation" in Scotland.'[330] The landscape design at Hopetoun was meant to showcase the Hopes' cosmopolitan taste, as well as their connections to the local countryside and an ancient Roman past. In sum, Lowrey describes Hopetoun (particularly its landscape) as a complex intersection of Palladian, French, and symbolically Scottish influences. In addition, Hopetoun has also been described as French (Rowan, Macaulay, Howard), mostly Italian (Howard), English (Macaulay, Ottenheym), and Dutch (Ottenheym).

Conclusion

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324 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 68.
325 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' pp. 68-9.
326 *Ibid.*
327 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 70.
328 *Ibid.*
329 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 71.
330 Lowrey, 'Britannia on Edge,' p. 70.

Although the scholarship available on Hopetoun House is invaluable, the fact that it is mainly stylistic in nature means that there is a great deal left to be studied about the house. What, for example, is the significance of Hopetoun House within the broad context of post-Restoration Scottish history? Why was it designed the way it was, both from a functional and stylistic perspective? How did its construction affect the countryside and the Hope family? These questions led to an enormous amount of secondary, as well as archival, research. This was necessary in order to gain a proper contextual understanding of the period, as well as hone in on how to approach answering these questions methodologically.

This literature has summarised a vast amount of material from a number of different fields of discipline and methodological approaches. Broad surveys were key to providing the author with the proper background in the fields of architectural, social, economic, political, and agricultural history. However, this thesis is a microhistorical study of Hopetoun House. While there are microforms within the historiographic field of post-Restoration British country houses (Charles Saumarez Smith's book on Castle Howard standing out), they are few in number. Much of this author's understanding of how to conduct a microhistorical case study came from rather different disciplines, including medieval, Renaissance, and early modern religious and urban history, as well as the field of early American architecture. Despite their vast differences in methodological approach and content, every source listed here has contributed in some way to the development of this thesis. Now that all this material has been presented to the reader, it is finally time to begin this thesis's analysis of Hopetoun House.

Chapter III: Sir William Bruce's Design for Hopetoun House

Introduction

A stylistic analysis of Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House poses many challenges since it was extensively renovated from the 1720s to the 1760s by William Adam and his sons. The major changes that occurred to the house during this period were extravagant: the wings to the north and south of the house's main block were rebuilt on a grander scale; the great dining room in the northeast corner of the house was extended by twelve feet; the sequence of rooms on the principal floor was re-organised; the convex quadrant-colonnades were rebuilt as larger, concave ones; the austere classical design of the exterior was transformed into an extravagant one; and the interiors of the new north wing were decorated in a Rococo style.[331] This was quite a change from Bruce's design. Since the original drawings of the Bruce-era house have not come to light, the engravings depicting the east elevation and principal storey floor plan, found in the second volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717), are both key sources of information. In addition, the rear (west) façade of the main house is Bruce's design.

Although this dissertation will discuss in detail the timeline of Hopetoun's construction and the deeper social significance of its design, this chapter is purely concerned with the stylistic influences of Bruce's designs. In order to prepare readers further for such in-depth stylistic discussion, the first section will consist of a visual analysis of Bruce's principal storey floor plan, entrance façade, and garden façade. This is not intended to present anything groundbreaking but simply familiarise the reader with the building. The second section will be devoted to this author's own interpretation of the stylistic influences on Bruce's design for Hopetoun. On the one hand, architectural treatises must have played an important role. It is well documented that Bruce possessed a copy of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri.* The designs found therein undeniably had an influence on his design for

331 Rowan, pp. 183-209, particularly from p. 188.

Hopetoun. Bruce was also a well-read man and he would have been aware of other important treatises written by Italian and French authors.

On the other hand, it is also important to remember the historic context surrounding Hopetoun's design. While there are many examples of classical influences on Scottish architecture of the early modern period, it was the political chaos of the mid-seventeenth century that led to the introduction of classicism to Scotland after 1660. Numerous members of the Scottish (and English) elite fled their countries during the Cromwellian regime of the 1650s, finding refuge on the Continent. Charles II himself not only resided at the French court (dominated by Jules Cardinal Mazarin, Anne of Austria, and Louis XIV) during this period, but also those of the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic. Even more important to this thesis is Bruce's experiences travelling abroad in the late 1650s. He lived in the Dutch Republic in the late 1650s with his cousin, Alexander Bruce, alongside other royalists. Bruce and his cousin specifically worked as merchant entrepreneurs in Rotterdam, aiming to improve Alexander Bruce's coal-mining and salt-production operations at Culross.[332] Since this time abroad certainly influenced his architectural knowledge, Bruce's other buildings will also be an important contribution to this analysis. However, Bruce did not work independently on Hopetoun: as patrons, the Hopes would have been key influencers on the country seat.

The Hopes' roles as wealthy industrialists, international traders (primarily with the Dutch), and low-ranking aristocrats will also be essential to this discussion. The Hopes had extensive Rotterdam-based business connections throughout the second half of the seventeenth century thanks to their mining operations at Leadhills. Alongside Dutch Classicism, the Hopes were also aware—through prints and engravings—of the extravagant and dramatic architecture of Louis XIV's court. [333] As the previous chapter shows,

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[332] Konrad Ottenheym, 'Dutch Influences in William Bruce's Architecture,' *Architectural Heritage* 18, no. 1 (Mar, 2008): p. 139, https://doi.org/10.3366/arch.2007.18.1.135.

[333] As will be seen, Sir William Bruce travelled in France and the Low Countries during the 1650s. Moreover, Sir William Bruce's son, John Bruce, took a Grand Tour of France and

their Francophilia is well-documented and predated the dossiers of engravings compiled for them by Alexander Edward. All this had a profound impact on Hopetoun's design. The architectural style of Hopetoun House cannot be pinned to one source country but was rather a complex blend of all the latest fashions. The ultimate intention of Bruce's design was to exemplify the Hopes' cosmopolitanism, wealth, and status.

I. The Visual Analysis of Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House

a. The Principal Floor plan of Hopetoun House's Principal Storey from Vitruvius Britannicus

According to the plan published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (*Figure 3.1*), the main block of Hopetoun House was nearly square with an octagonal staircase placed at its centre.[334] A dome, which was set within the roof, crowned the octagonal staircase. In order to make this space structurally sound, the octagonal staircase was set within a square space, with the stone corners acting as buttresses. This square was encased by rooms on all four sides. The largest was located at the entrance façade on the staircase's east side; the room fronting the garden façade on the staircase's west side was the next largest. Two scale-and-platt staircases sat on the north and south sides of the main staircase and two more rooms were situated beyond these secondary staircases. In other words, Bruce designed Hopetoun House with a centralised floor plan, which, as stated in the previous chapter, was described by Alistair Rowan as a 'Greek cross pattern.'[335] The spaces in between the four corners of the main block and the arms of the Greek cross were not handled uniformly. While the northeast corner was just one large room, the other three corners of the main block consisted of two small rooms with corner fireplaces and one larger room. The floor plan of Hopetoun's main block is not symmetrical across the horizontal axis, but is nearly so

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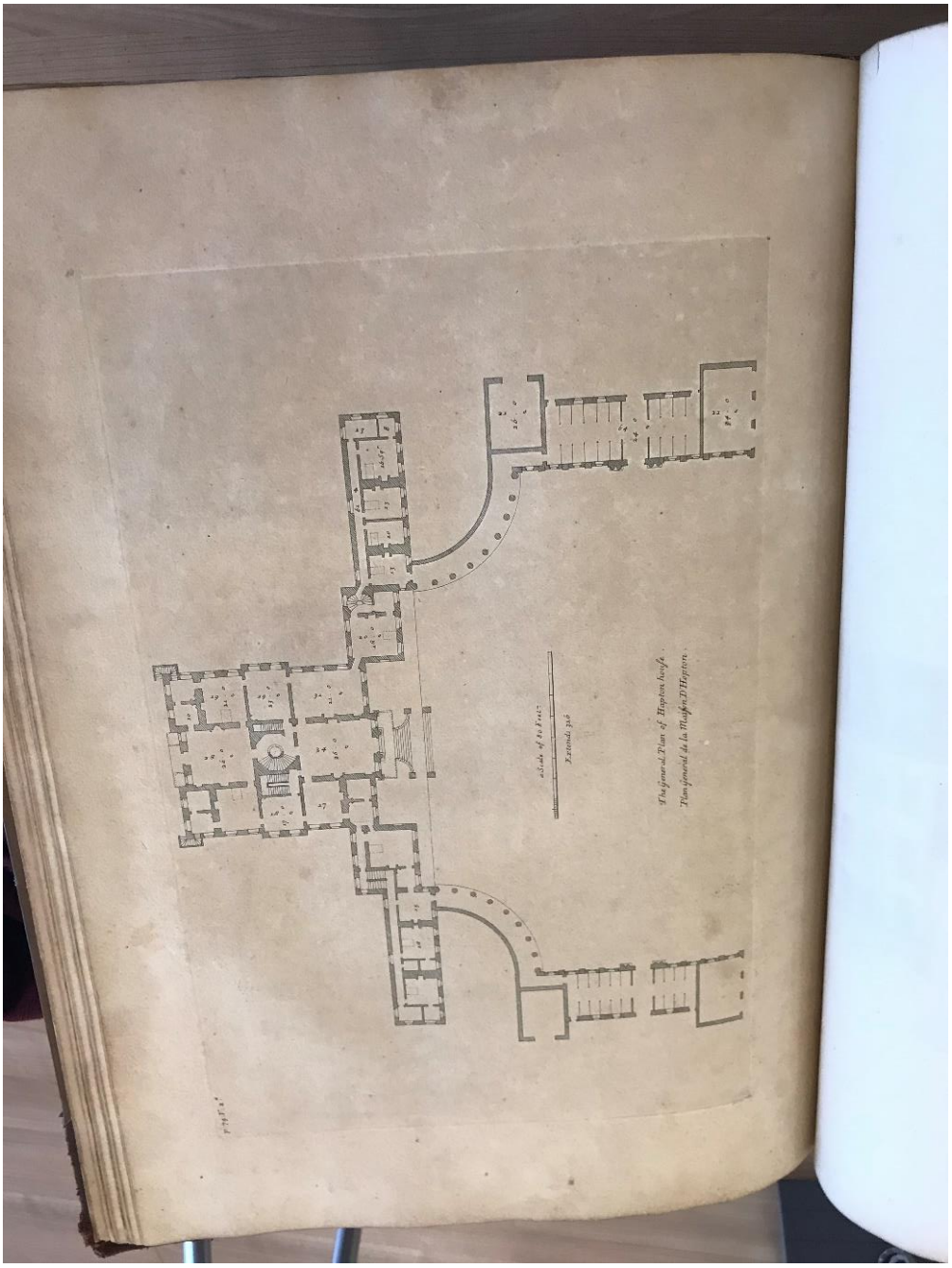
the Low Countries from 1681 to 1683. See: John Lowrey, 2006, 'Bruce, Sir William, first baronet (c. 1625-1710), architect and politician,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3760 (accessed 29 October, 2018).

334 William Bruce, Hopetoun House Plan of the Principal Floor, from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London: 1717), plate 75, A.86c, National Library of Scotland [NLS], Edinburgh, UK.

335 Rowan, p. 186.

across the vertical axis. Bruce aimed for physical and spatial balance in his design over visual perfection; this was a practical approach to designing Hopetoun. However, visitors would have experienced the illusion of symmetry upon entering the house due to the fact that both the east and west entrances were placed along the vertical axis.



(*Figure 3.1,* William Bruce, Hopetoun House Plan of the Principal Floor, Plate 75 from *Vitruvius Britannicus,* originally published 1717, photograph taken by author)

Although there were numerous entrances to the main block, the principal one was situated in the middle of the east façade.[336] A broad staircase linked the inner courtyard to a platform-terrace that spanned the length of the east façade. A grander, sweeping staircase led from the platform to the frontispiece, in which the main door was situated. The terrace also linked the north and south pavilions to the main block physically and visually. Both pavilions were the same width but were ultimately unequal in size. Even though visitors may not have been aware of this difference, it is still clear that function was more important to Bruce's design than symmetry. Indeed, the south pavilion consisted of a room roughly the same size as those in southwest and northwest corners of the main block, a small room with a corner fireplace, and a corridor leading to the scale-and-platt staircase. The main room in the north pavilion was of similar size to the one in the south pavilion. However, a thick wall with a fireplace separated it from a small chamber and a tight turnpike staircase. Both pavilions were transitory spaces between the main block and the north and south wings.

b. Hopetoun House's Entrance Façade from Vitruvius Britannicus

The second engraving of Hopetoun House published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* depicts its entrance façade, which consists of a basement storey, two main storeys, and an attic crowned by a cupola (*Figure 3.2*).[337] The façade is thirteen-bays long in a three-two-three-two-three pattern. The basement-storey windows are small and capped by *voussoirs*. A cill-band runs across the whole of the façade between the basement and principal storeys with dados situated between the *voussoirs* and the windows above. These principal storey windows are encased in architrave mouldings and are finished with entablatures on top. An entablature and cill-band also divide the main floors, with dados once again supporting the second-storey windows.

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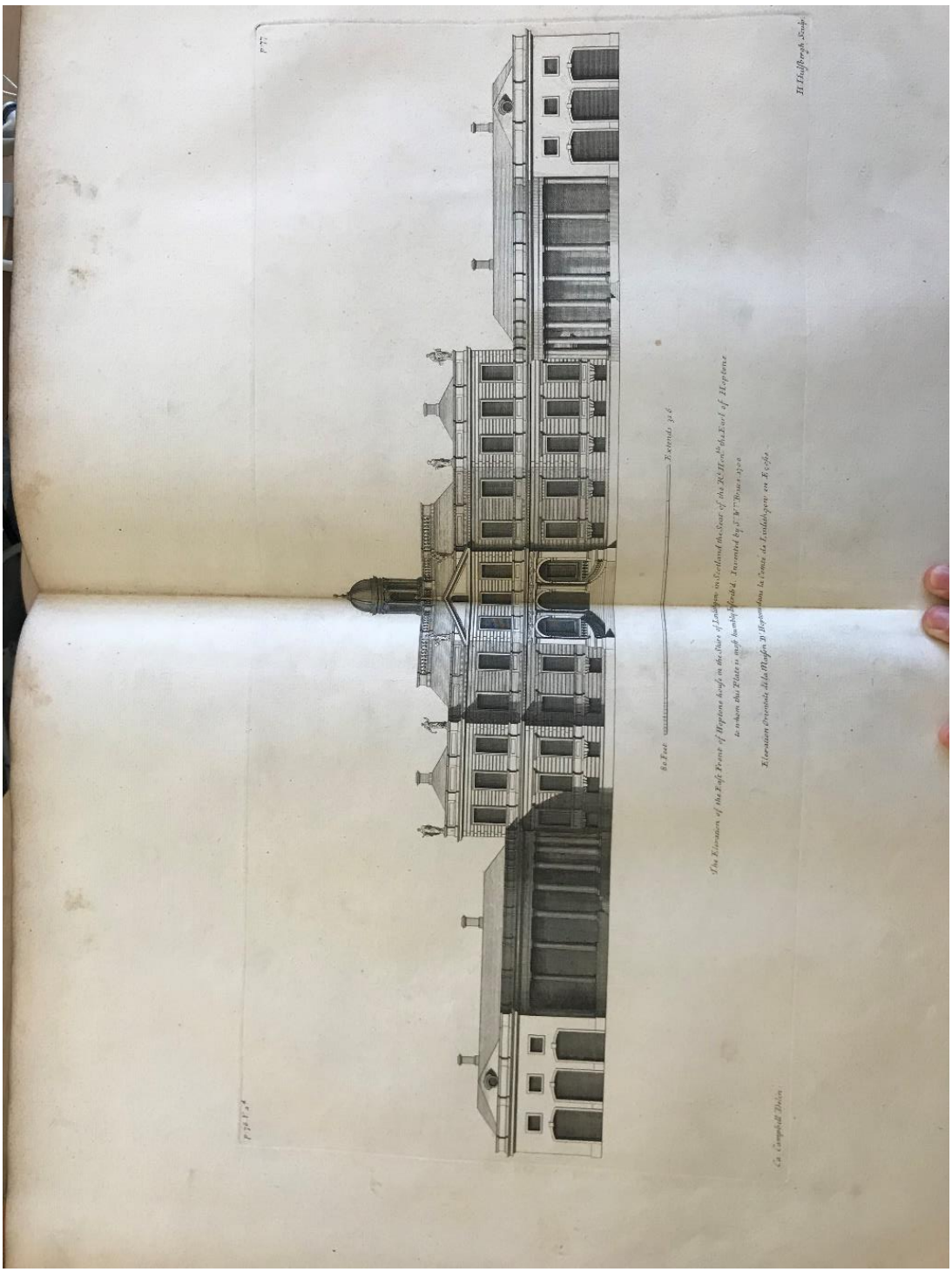
336 Besides the east façade, access to the main house was gained via: the middle of the west façade; the small staircases at the corners of the west façade; and through the north and south pavilions.

337 William Bruce, Hopetoun House Entrance Façade, from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London: 1717), plates 76-7, A-86c, NLS.

These windows are more simply fenestrated than those of the principal storey in that they are only encased in architrave mouldings. An Ionic entablature adorns the eaves of the roof.[338] The channelled rustication, intra-storey cill-band, and attic-storey entablature and balustrade unified the façade horizontally. The central three bays of the house are the most ornamented portion of the entire façade.

338 The Ionic order consists of: multiple bands in the architrave, a frieze (usually decorated), dentils, and multiple bands in the cornice.



(*Figure 3.2,* William Bruce, Hopetoun House Entrance Façade, Plates 76 and 77 from *Vitruvius Britannicus,* originally published 1717, photograph taken by author)

The piers and abutments of the arcaded frontispiece were ornamented with Doric engaged columns and pilasters, complete with egg and dart moulding in the capitals. The entablature that sat directly above the arcade

was Doric, complete with a frieze ornamented with triglyphs and swags.[339] The central three bays above the arcade was no different from the rest of the second storey, except that it was crowned by a pediment with an arched window in the tympanum. A hipped roof was situated behind the pediment with a balustrade supporting statues. Another balustrade crowned the hipped roof, encasing a cupola. The cupola was built above the domed, octagonal staircase. Based on the size and shape of the capitals of the engaged columns, the drum of the cupola was built as a Corinthian arcade (*Figure 3.3*).[340] Hopetoun's cupola is distinct from its cousins in terms of its function: both Craigiehall's and Kinross's cupolas were separate spaces designed to provide access to the roof.[341] This was also the case at Coleshill in England, whose octagonal cupola also acted as a gazebo or banqueting room.[342] However, Hopetoun's cupola was unique in its design. As mentioned above, the octagonal staircase was topped by a dome that was set in the roof.[343] The cupola was built above this dome and was designed to give light to the staircase below through a double oculus. The cupola was part of the staircase; there was not a division of space at Hopetoun as there was at Craigiehall, Kinross, or even its English predecessors. That the house's interior and exterior were a unified whole at its centre implies its more advanced and complex spatial design. The pavilions also played into this complexity.

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339 A Doric entablature consists of: an architrave with guttae, regulae, and taenia; a frieze with triglyphs and metopes (the metopes could or could not be decorated); and a cornice with soffit, corona, and cymatium.

340 Palladio, Tavernor and Schofield, trans., pp. 43, 50.

341 Lowrey, 'Bruce and his Circle at Craigiehall, 1693-1708,' John Frew and David Jones, eds., *Aspects of Scottish Classicism: The House & Its Formal Setting, 1690-1750* (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Studies in the History of Scottish Architecture & Design, Blakeley Milroy Publications, 1989), p. 6.

342 Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 125.

343 Lowrey, 'Bruce and his Circle,' p. 6; Ottenheym, p. 145.

(*Figure 3.3,* screenshot of Hopetoun House's Corinthian cupola)

The projecting outer three bays of each end of the façade, which have separate roofs from the main block's, belong to the north and south pavilions. Just as the floor plan indicates that the pavilions were not entirely part of the main block through narrow passages with limited access (spatial design), the elevation itself subtly signals this through a uniform façade with multiple roofs (visual design). The pavilions therefore likely acted as intermediary spaces between the main block and the wings hidden behind the convex Doric colonnades. In addition to roofing them separately, Bruce varied their heights and floor levels in order to differentiate the functions of these areas. While the pavilions are designed at the same level as the principal storey—all of which were set above a semi-underground basement storey—the wings were simply built on ground level. This explains the presence of staircases in both pavilions.[344]

This analysis has so far brought several key ideas to light—the first and most obvious being that Hopetoun was designed and ornamented in a

[344] It should be noted that the gap linking the small room in the south pavilion to the northern edge of the south wing is a mistake of the engravers or printers. Otherwise, one would open the door in the pavilion to a large drop into the wing.

classical style. Hopetoun's entrance façade was the Hopes' first opportunity to present their identity (crafted or otherwise) to visitors. At the same time, Bruce did not design Hopetoun on nearly the same scale or extravagance as several of its English contemporaries, such as Chatsworth, Castle Howard, and Blenheim Palace. Bruce designed a house for a titled, yet minor, aristocrat who was aware of social boundaries. Overt ostentation was a social faux-pas. The subtlety of the garden façade on the opposite side of the house is more serene. This demonstrated the Hopes' fashionable taste.

c. The Extant West Façade of Hopetoun House

As with the entrance façade, Hopetoun's garden façade also consists of: a basement, two main storeys, an attic (which is signalled by the two circular windows in the segmental pediment), and a hipped roof (*Figure 3.4*). Although it has since been demolished, the crowning cupola would have also been visible from the garden. The masonry of the west façade is ashlar compared to the east façade's rustication as it appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus.* Despite this difference, quoins adorn each corner of the garden façade as they do on the entrance facade. Furthermore, the west façade's fenestration also matches what can be seen in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving. First, the basement windows are capped by *voussoirs,* which are carved directly into the course (rather than individually hewn and installed; *Figure 3.5*). Architrave mouldings encase the windows of the principal storey, which are then each capped by entablatures (*Figure 3.6*). The windows of the second storey are decorated in the same manner (*Figure 3.7*). Finally, an Ionic entablature with dentils spans the width of the west façade. These are key aesthetic motifs that tie the west façade to the east façade.

(*Figure 3.4,* William Bruce, Hopetoun House Garden Façade, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 3.5*, Basement windows in the west façade of Hopetoun House, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 3.6,* Hopetoun House west façade principal storey window, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 3.7,* Hopetoun House west façade second storey windows, photograph taken by author)

However, Bruce created a clear divide between the entrance and garden sides of Hopetoun House. Although a fraction of the size of the current Adam additions, the original three-bay pavilions of Bruce's period would have been viewed as separate entities from the west façade. In other words, the pavilions have never been incorporated into Hopetoun's west façade. This means that it has always been only seven bays wide compared to the east façade (which grew considerably under Adam). Once again, the west façade was designed as a humbler version of the east façade. Besides the disparity in scale, the central three bays of the west façade are simpler and more delicate than the entrance frontispiece. The west façade entrance has an Ionic trabeated portico. Even with double columns and Ionic pilasters on either side of the door, this entrance is less imposing than the arcaded frontispiece on the opposite side of the house (*Figure 3.8*). In addition, even though a pediment crowns the west façade, it is only two bays wide whereas the east façade's is three (*Figure 3.9*). As a segmental pediment with floral carvings in the tympanum, it is also more delicately designed. That the west

façade was built on a smaller scale and decorated in a more refined manner than the other side of the house indicates that it functioned differently. The west façade faced the garden, which was a leisurely space: the boldness and austerity of the east façade would not have matched the function of the garden. A simple form of classicism was used to decorate both façades, albeit in a different scale and form of execution. The question remains as to what the sources of Bruce's designs for Hopetoun House were.

(*Figure 3.8,* Hopetoun House west façade entrance portico)

(*Figure 3.9,* Hopetoun House west façade segmental pediment)

II. A New Stylistic Analysis

a. *Possible Sources of Inspiration for Hopetoun House's Floor plan*

Hopetoun House is the culmination of Sir William Bruce's 30-year career as an architect. Although he did not know it was to be his final substantial design, Bruce nonetheless pulled together decades'-worth of knowledge and experience for his design of Hopetoun. As will be studied in the eighth chapter, Kinross and Craigiehall were both referenced continually in Hopetoun's building contract.[345] Thus, it is important to look at the floor plans for those buildings before looking outward. Hopetoun's floor plan is often described as unique by scholars, which implies that nothing quite like it had been built before. However, a quick look at the floor plan of Craigiehall House from *Vitruvius Scoticus* indicates that this was not entirely the case (*Figure 3.10*).[346] Craigiehall is made up of a suite of square rooms centralised

345 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 1-168.

346 William Bruce, Floor plans for the Ground and First Storeys of Craigiehall House, begun 1699, from William Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus,* plate 86, circa 1720s, from *Google*

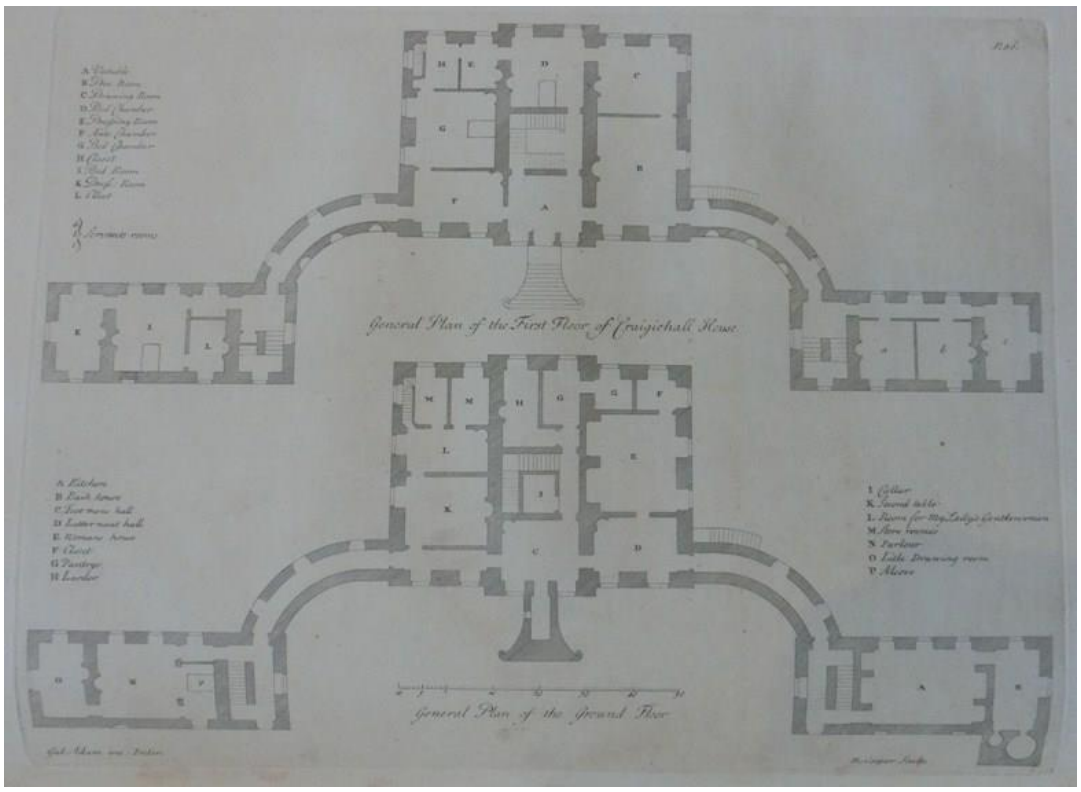
around a square staircase.[347] What is more, two concave quadrants (which no longer exist) originally extended from the outside corners of the house to ancillary pavilions. These plans are not identical (and why should they be? Hopetoun was designed as a country seat and Craigiehall as a secondary residence that provided easy access to Edinburgh). Nonetheless, the resemblance between the floor plan of these two houses, which were designed within a year of each other, is clear. Although designed nearly two decades previously, Kinross House is Hopetoun's other "cousin" (*Figure 3.11*).[348] Kinross is an H-shaped house with large rooms at the centre and smaller suites of rooms in the corners as at Hopetoun. More significant is the fact that it was designed with a terrace-platform as Hopetoun was (*Figure 3.12*). The resemblance between Kinross's and Hopetoun's floor plans is thus thematic rather than visual. Another of Bruce's designs, Thirlestane Castle, had a very similar (albeit higher) terrace to Hopetoun's (*Figure 3.13*).[349] In short, Hopetoun House was not a random design and resembles other examples from Bruce's body of work.

Sites, https://sites.google.com/site/researchpages2/home/vitruvius-scoticus (accessed 19 June, 2018).

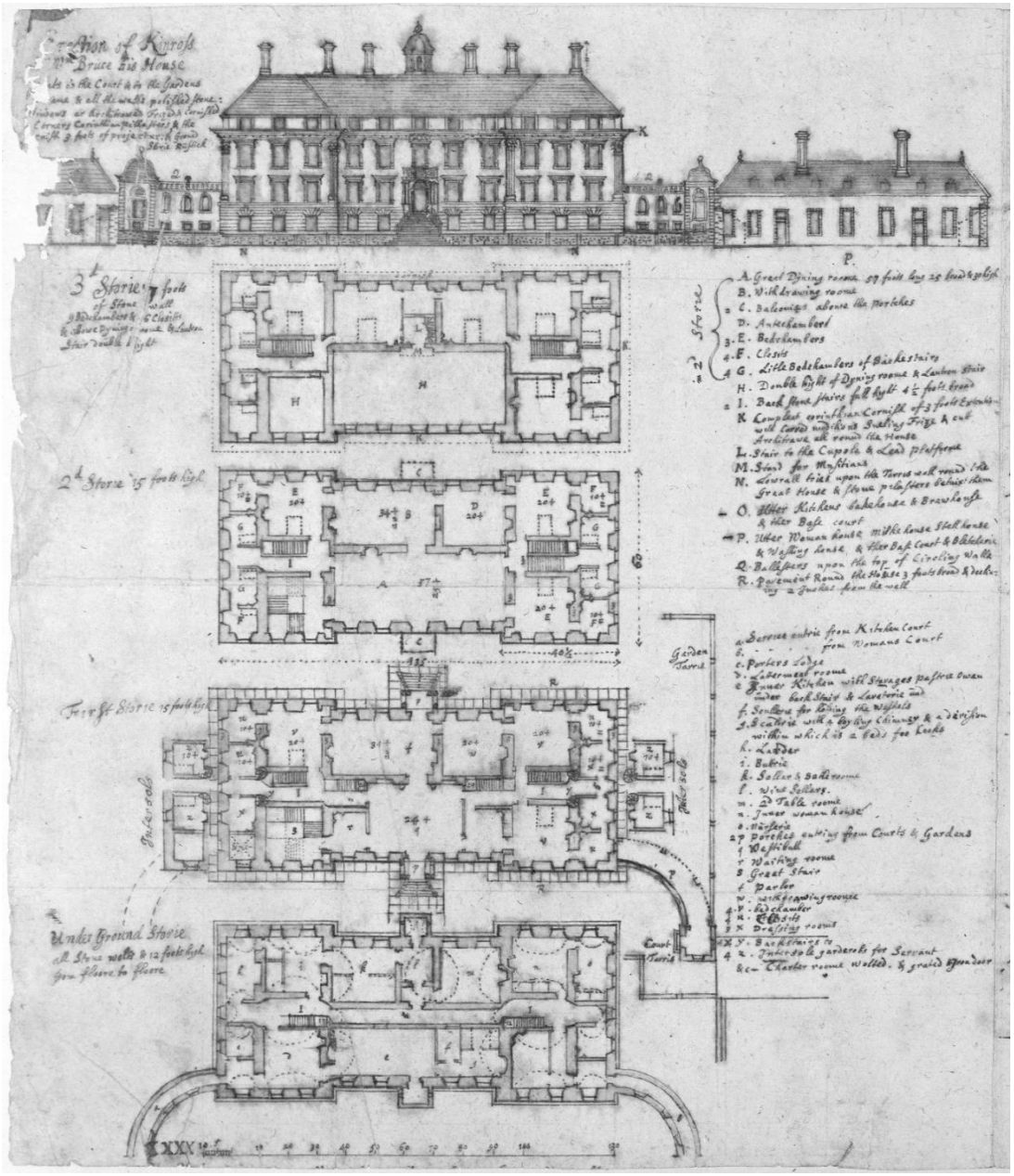
347 Lowrey, 'Bruce and His Circle,' p. 3.

348 Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, Floor plans of Kinross House, circa 1700, from *Canmore,* Image ID SC 1034209 (hi-definition digital image obtained privately via Canmore).

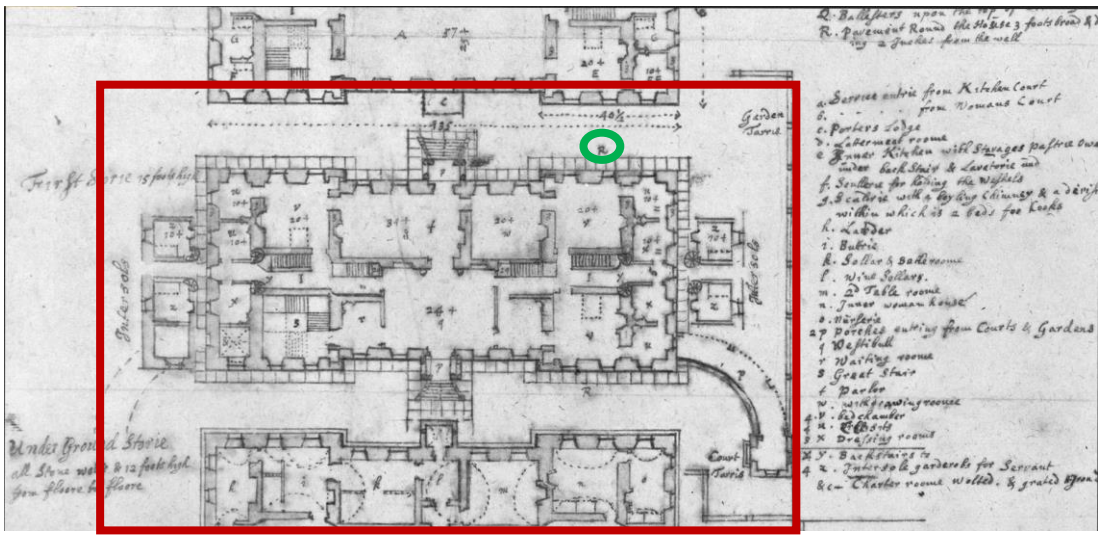
349 John Slezer, 'Thirlestane Castle,' photograph, engraving, dimensions unknown, *Theatrum Scotiae* (London: printed sold by J. Smith, 1719), plate 68, EMS.b.3.21, NLS.



(*Figure 3.10,* Floor plan of Ground and First Storeys of Craigiehall House, from *Vitruvius Scoticus,* circa 1720s, from *Google Sites*)



(*Figure 3.11,* Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, Draught of the First Storey of Kinross House Floor plan, circa 1700, from *Canmore,* ID Number SC 1034209)



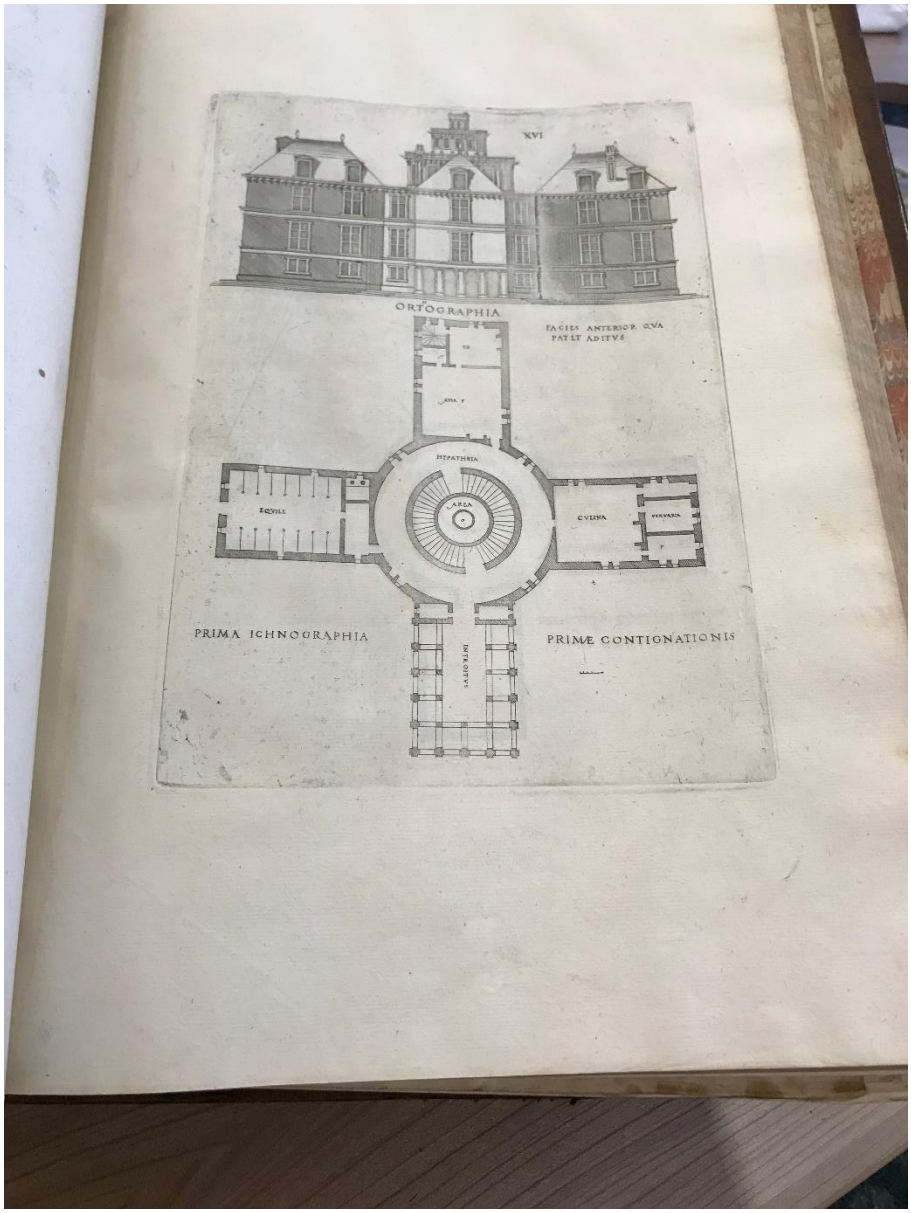
(*Figure 3.12,* Screenshot of Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, Draught of the First Storey of Kinross House Floor plan. The red square indicates approximately how Kinross was encircled by a terrace. The key for "R" encircled in green states: 'Pavement Round the House 3 foots broad & declining 2 Inches from the wall')

(*Figure 3.13,* Sir William Bruce, Thirlestane Castle, Berwickshire, 1670-82, from John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae,* 1719, NLS, photograph taken by author)

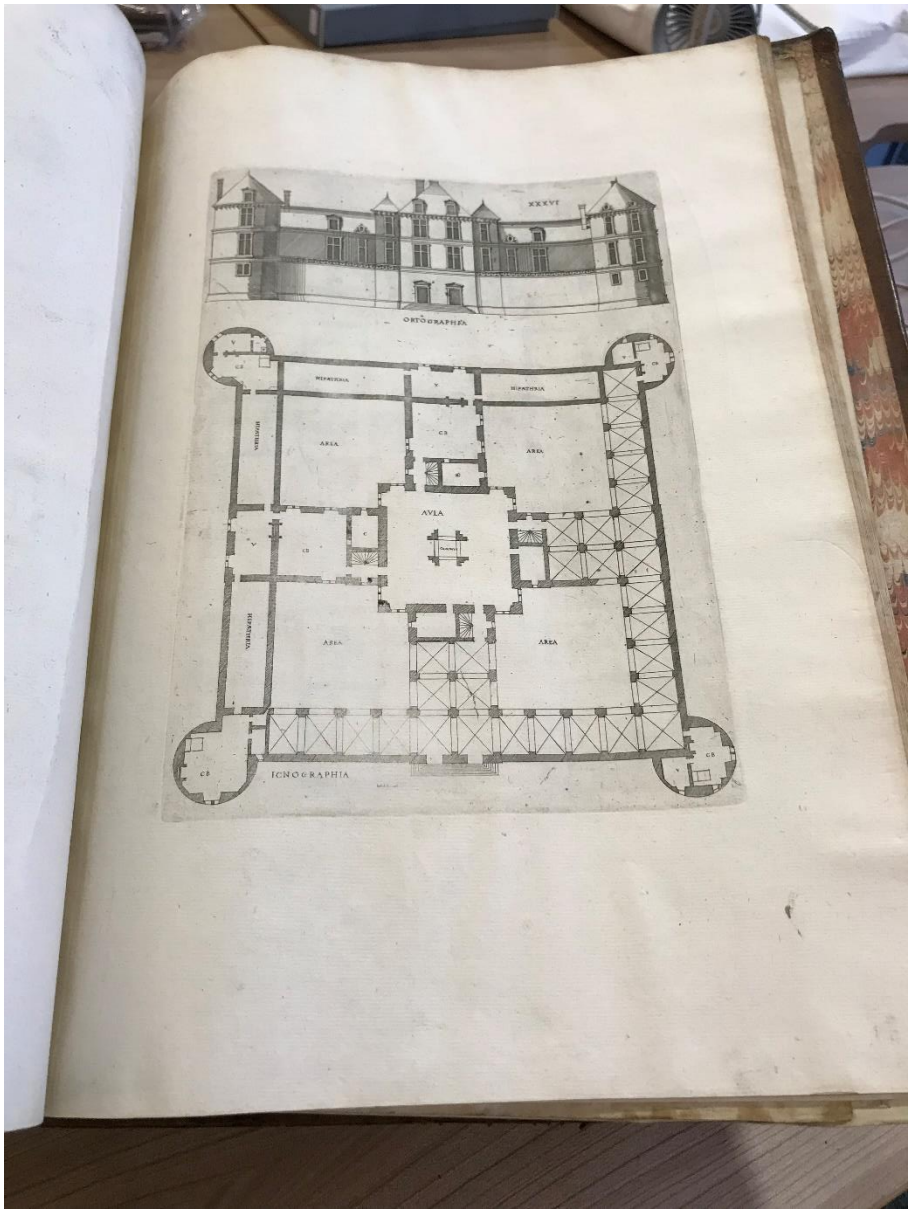
At the same time, it is safe to say that Hopetoun's floor plan is a more refined and elegant version of Craigiehall's. Such a difference implies outside

sources of influence. As Howard has pointed out, centralised floor plans for private houses grew increasingly popular during the early modern period. It should be remembered that Macaulay compared the centralised layout of Louis XIV's retreat, Château de Marly, to Hopetoun's main block (see *Figure 2.3*). Jacques Androuet du Cerceau included his own designs for centralised houses in his treatises (*Figures 3.14, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17, 3.18*).[350] It also should be remembere that Howard also brought another design by Serlio to light in 1995 (see *Figure 2.21*). The upper floor of Serlio's design is particularly similar to Hopetoun's principal floor plan: the rooms are set up in a three-by-three pattern; an octagonal room, set within square walls, dominates the centre of the building; the octagonal room was most likely intended to be crowned by a dome; and the back corners of the block contain two small cabinets each. Bruce very possibly based his design for Hopetoun's main floor on Serlio's floor plan rather than on Marly's, Villa Capra's, Trissino, or any similar design. However, Hopetoun was not just the centralised block: it was also the projecting three-bay blocks, the office house wings, the colonnades, and the stables. Palladio's influence extends beyond the centralised floor plan.

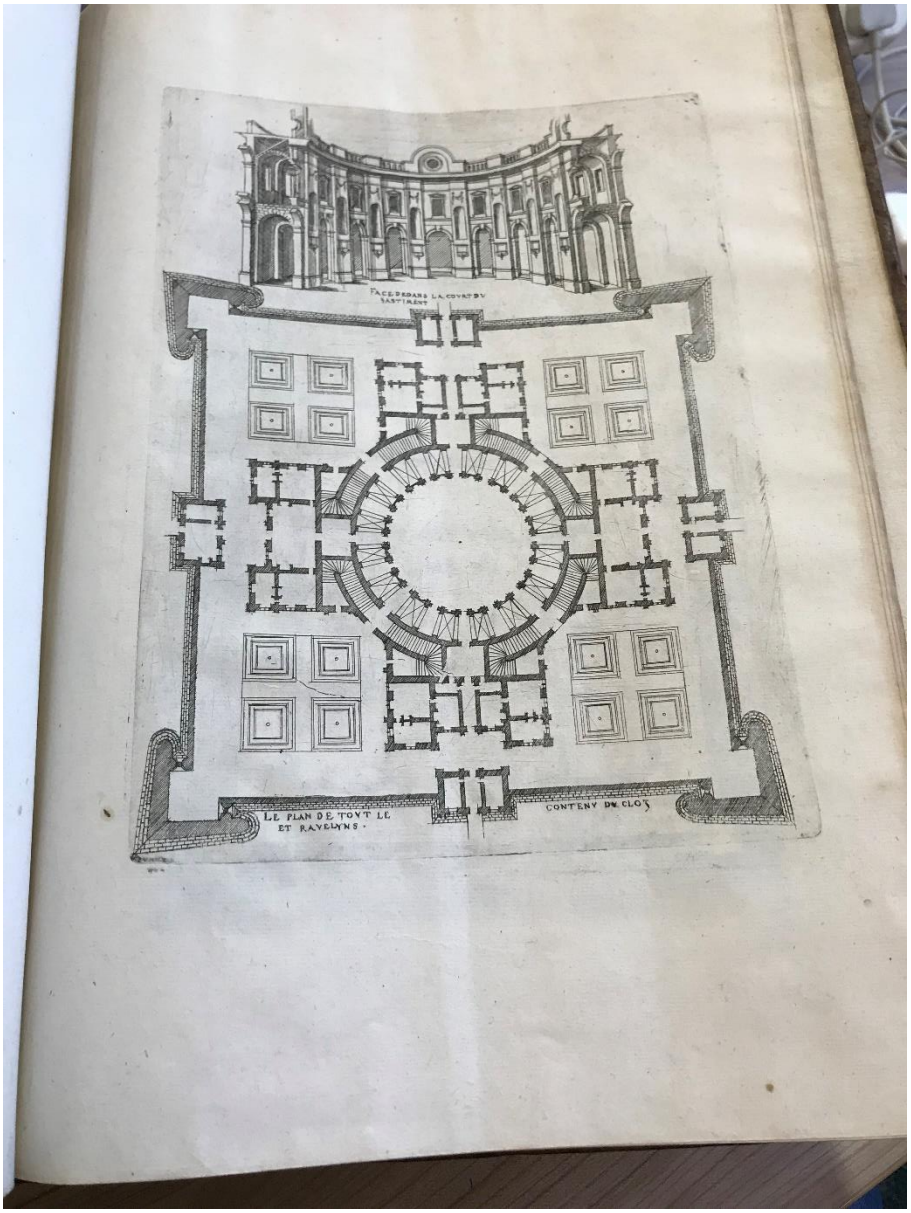
[350] Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture*, volume 1 (Paris:1611), plates 16 and 36, Newb.4963(2), NLS; Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture,* volume 3 (Paris: 1615), plates 20, 35, and 37, Newb. 4962(2), NLS.



(*Figure 3.14,* Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture* (1611), plate 16, photograph taken by author)



(*Figure 3.15,* Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture* (1611), plate 36, photograph taken by author)



(*Figure 3.16,* Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture* (1615), plate 20, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 3.17,* Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture* (1615), plate 35, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 3.18,* Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'Architecture* (1615), plate 37, photograph taken by author)

Ackerman has spoken great in detail as to how and why Palladio's architecture became so popular. Venetian patricians, whose wealth derived from medieval commerce with the Levant, found themselves losing their monopolistic grip on international trade over the course of the sixteenth century because of the rapid growth in American and Indian markets.[351] Palladio's productive building period (the 1540s-70s) coincided with his

351 Ackerman, *Palladio*, pp. 48, 50.

patrons' reinvestment in farming activities on the *terra firma*.[352] Interestingly, agricultural improvments were essential to this economic shift. Not only did unused, swampy lands have to be reclaimed through drainage and canals, investment companies offered them up for sale to willing buyers.[353] Venetian investors, some as prestigious as the Badoers and Emos, moved to the *terra firma* in droves and permanently. Suddenly, there was a gap in the architectural market for 'functional and utilitarian structures' that behaved as proper, albeit elegant, farmhouses rather than defensive castles.[354] Palladio, of course, was there to fill that market. He states explicitly in Book II of *I Quttro Libri* that, in addition to providing space for leisure and contemplation, country villas were 'useful and comforting, where [an owner] will pass the rest of the time watching over and improving his property and increasing his wealth through his skill and farming.'[355] He also states that:

'two types of building are needed on the estate: one for the owner and his household to live in, and the other in which to organize and look after the produce and the animals of the farm. The site, however, must be arranged in such a way that neither the former nor the latter interferes with one another.'[356]

In short, agriculture clearly played an extremely important role in Palladio's domestic architecture.

Although these houses had to be built economically and practically, they could not be simple brick shells. They also had 'to lend an air of cultivated grandeur.'[357] This is why Palladio recommends that:

'above all the architect must observe that (as Vitruvius says in Books I and VI), for great men and especially those in public office, houses with loggias and spacious, ornate halls will be required, so that those waiting to greet the master of the house or to ask him for some help or a favor can spend their time pleasantly in such spaces.'[358]

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352 Ackerman, *Palladio,* p. 50.
353 Ackerman, *Palladio*, pp. 50, 53.
354 Ackerman, *Palladio*, p. 53.
355 Palladio, Tavernor and Schofield, trans., p. 123.
356 *Ibid.*
357 *Ibid.*
358 Palladio, Tavernor and Schofield, trans., p. 77.

Indeed, 'one must describe as suitable [*commodo*] a house which will be appropriate to the status [*qualità*] of the person who will have to live in it.'[359] Although Palladio was not the first to think in this way or even to design villas, he was unique in his 'fusion of ancient sources and medieval practice.'[360] Palladio designed classical country seats, where owners could live in refined elegance while overseeing the agricultural activities of their estates.

Palladio also insisted on the hierarchical organisation of the villa's spaces. He states that:

> 'one must take great care not only with the most important elements, such as loggias [*loggia*], halls, courtyards [*cortile*], magnificent rooms, and large staircases, which should be well-lit and easy to ascend, but also so that the smallest and ugliest parts will be in places that are subordinate to those which are larger and more prestigious.'[361]

Indeed, the 'most important and prestigious parts' had to be 'in full view and the less beautiful in locations concealed as far from the eyes as possible, because all the unpleasant things of the house' can 'make the most beautiful parts ugly.'[362] Palladio designed houses not only with prestige in mind, but also the everyday working of the estate. Although named by Trissino for Pallas Athena, it seems significant that Andrea's name should bare such remarkable resemblance to that of Palladius, the late Antique agricultural writer.[363] The question remains as to how this is relevant to Hopetoun.

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359 *Ibid*.

360 Ackerman, p. 47. Villas designed as urban retreats were a phenomenon of the Florentine Renaissance particularly associated with the Medici. The application of classical motifs to domestic architecture also was not a practice originating with Palladio. According to Leon Battista Alberti, prestigious patrons of Antiquity personalised the porticoes of their houses so that they reflected personal or ancestral glory. Not only did Alberti state that porticos belonged to men of status, but he also divided the implementation of various types of porticos by rank. However, patrons still needed to ensure that their houses were not overly extravagant (which would have been distasteful ostentation). He directs that 'the portico of the highest citizens ought to be trabeated, and that of the ordinary man arched,' and that 'the pediment to a private house should not emulate the majesty of a temple in any way.' See Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Biulding in Ten Books,* translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), pp. 300-1.

361 Palladio, Tavernor and Schofield, trans, p. 77.

362 Palladio, Tavernor and Schofield, trans, pp. 77-8.

363 Ackerman, p. 20.

As examined in the previous chapter, John Lowrey has highlighted that Scots found Palladio's architecture appealing for the same reasons Venetians did: his villas were built with practicality and elegance in mind and were intended as the economic hearts of agricultural estates. Indeed, Lowrey identified a correlation between the rise in popularity of Palladianism and agricultural improvement in Scotland. They appreciated the dual elegance and pragmatism of Palladio's designs. He was perfect for Scotland's *nouveaux-riches,* who were looking to separate themselves from the *ancien régime* and expand their wealth. Lowrey compared Hopetoun's convex quadrants to a misreading (or unique interpretation) of Palladio's Villa Mocenigo. Comparisons have also been drawn between Hopetoun's and Villa Capra's centralised floor plans. However, Palladio's (and Bruce's) talent was unifying the main house interior architecturally with the exterior.

Villa Cornaro has a centralised floor plan with four-bay blocks that abut the villa's sides, in a similar vein to Hopetoun. Villa Thiene a Cicogna also has a centralised floor plan with two concave quadrants extending from the entrance façade. These led to stables and offices; all were enclosed by a front wall to form a prominent forecourt. These features would have created a hierarchy of space as prescribed by Palladio; Bruce also included all of them at Hopetoun. However, these similarities are really more thematic. In other words, while they likely did not act as direct sources of inspiration, the ideas of centralised plans, extended blocks, and quadrants may have sparked Bruce's imagination. Two other villas may have acted as more direct sources of inspiration. Villa Badoer, one of Palladio's most prestigious designs, not only has a centralised floor plan that is nearly symmetrical across the vertical axis, its *piano nobile* is perched upon a terrace that can only be accessed via a grand exterior staircase. Furthermore, two quadrants extend from the said staircase, connecting the house to ground-level stables and offices. At the same time, the colonnades subordinate the offices from the main house. Badoer combines the features highlighted in Cornaro and Thiene. Hopetoun mirrors Badoer in this regard.

Even closer in design to Hopetoun is the Villa Trissino a Meledo. A precursor to Villa Capra, Trissino was Palladio's only other domestic design to contain a central dome. A Greek cross extends from Trissino's dome and separates the villa into quadrants. Those quadrants are composed of identical, albeit mirroring, apartments. All four facades are fronted by porticoes. The *piano nobile* is perched upon a terrace and a long, stepped staircase connects it to the ground at the main entrance. An elaborate colonnade, composed of two quadrants and two right angles, extends from either side of the main entrance. They ultimately form the forecourt, connect the house to the offices, and stratisfy the spaces hierarchically. This design is remarkably similar to Hopetoun's design, both thematically and visually.

Four apartments (although not identical) occupied each of Hopetoun's quadrants on the principal floor. Hopetoun is also defined vertically by a terrace. Furthermore, although Hopetoun did not have four entrances at each façade as Trissino was designed to have, it did originally have porticoes at the entrance and garden façades, as well as pediments on the north and south façades. Hopetoun imitated Villas Trissino (and Villa Capra) in this regard. Finally, although Hopetoun's colonnade was not as elaborate as Trissino's, it was unique and ennobled the façade. The quadrants also connected the main house to the stables and hid the office houses from view. Palladio clearly influenced the design of Hopetoun's floor plan. However, he could not possibly have been the only source of inspiration for the design of Hopetoun's floor plan—especially given the fact that Palladio is a sixteenth-century source.

It should be remembered that the Hopes had a profound interest in the latest French architectural practices. As discussed in the previous chapter, John Hope commissioned Claude Comiers to design an *hôtel* to replace their Edinburgh townhouse in 1680. Furthermore, Alexander Edward sent the Hopes hundreds of engravings of the latest *châteaux* and gardens—many of which were built and/or renovated on the orders of Louis XIV—from France in 1702. Of course, the latter event occurred in the middle of Hopetoun's

construction. Even so, these buildings (Versailles, Clagny, and Marly, for example) were built over the course of decades and were extremely well known in this period. It is hard to believe that the well-read and well-travelled Bruce—and the Francophilic Hopes—would not have been aware of them before Edward's travels.[364] Louis XIV's role as the harbinger of taste in architecture, décor, and landscape design in the second half of the seventeenth century cannot be ignored, either. It was during his reign that taste in French art and architecture came to dominate as Europe's cultural *tour-de-force* over Italy's equivalents.[365] The Sun King understood well the power architecture held as a tool of statecraft. As Jean-Baptiste Colbert told the King in 1663: 'Your Majesty knows that in lieu of dazzling actions in war, nothing indicates better the greatness and spirit of princes than buildings; and all posterity measures them by the standard of these superb buildings that they have erected during their lives.'[366] Moreover, Louis XIV's personal rule lasted from 1661 (the death of Jules Cardinal Mazarin) until his death in 1715. In other words, his cultural dominance lasted over half a century. Louis XIV's reign also conveniently encapsulates the periods of post-Restoration, Glorious Revolution, and end of the Stuarts' reign in Britain.

Thanks to the many nobles and gentry who fled to France for refuge during the Interregnum period—particularly Charles II, who actually lived at Louis XIV's Court—knowledge of the Sun King's building activities spread to Britain. The hallmark of Louis XIV's building activities was, of course, Versailles. First built as a small hunting lodge southwest of Paris by Louis XIII in 1624, it was rebuilt as a hunting *pied-à-terre* from 1631-4.[367] Once Louis XIV assumed his personal rule in 1661, he began to build up Versailles and initially employed the same triumvirate who designed and built Vaux-le-

364 Without delving too wildly into speculation, it is possible that the Hopes wanted Edward to bring them back mementos of their favourite French buildings.
365 Berger, p. 6.
366 *Ibid*.
367 Berger, p. 53.

Vicomte: Louis Le Vau, André Le Nôtre, and Charles Le Brun.[368] Initially only a retreat, Louis XIV made the decision in 1668 to expand Versailles aggressively into a suitable *château* that could both house his family and act as the proper venue for courtly functions.[369] Le Vau's design (which was constructed between 1668 and 1674) retained the original '*Petit Château*' (the hunting lodge) while surrounding it on three sides with an entirely new building dubbed the Envelope; the service wings and forecourt were expanded to connect to the ends of the Envelope.[370] The first floor, where the Sun King lived, was decorated in the Ionic order and penetrated by a terrace on the western side.[371]

The reason why this detour from Hopetoun has been taken is because Louis Le Vau's 1668 design of Versailles is critically important to Bruce's design (*Figure 3.19*).[372] The terrace, encompassed by the envelope and the western end of the Petit Château, is strikingly similar to the eastern end of Hopetoun. Another of Louis XIV's commissions, the Château de Clagny near Versailles, also bears resemblance to Hopetoun. Designed and built by Jules Hardouin-Mansart for Louis XIV's mistress, the Duchesse de Montespan, between 1675 and 1682, Clagny resembles Hopetoun in the manner in which the wings (containing an orangery on the left and kitchen and servants' quarters on the right) extend from the main body of the approximately square *château* (see *Figure 2.10*).[373] It should be noted that Hopetoun's wings were also designed to house offices. It seems clear that Louis XIV's court buildings influenced Bruce's designs for Hopetoun—particularly the service wings.

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368 Berger, pp. 53-4. Their main projects included building up the landscape and avenue system, constructing side pavilions for princes and courtiers and service buildings, and building the *Ménagerie* and Grotto de Tethys.

369 Berger, p. 61.

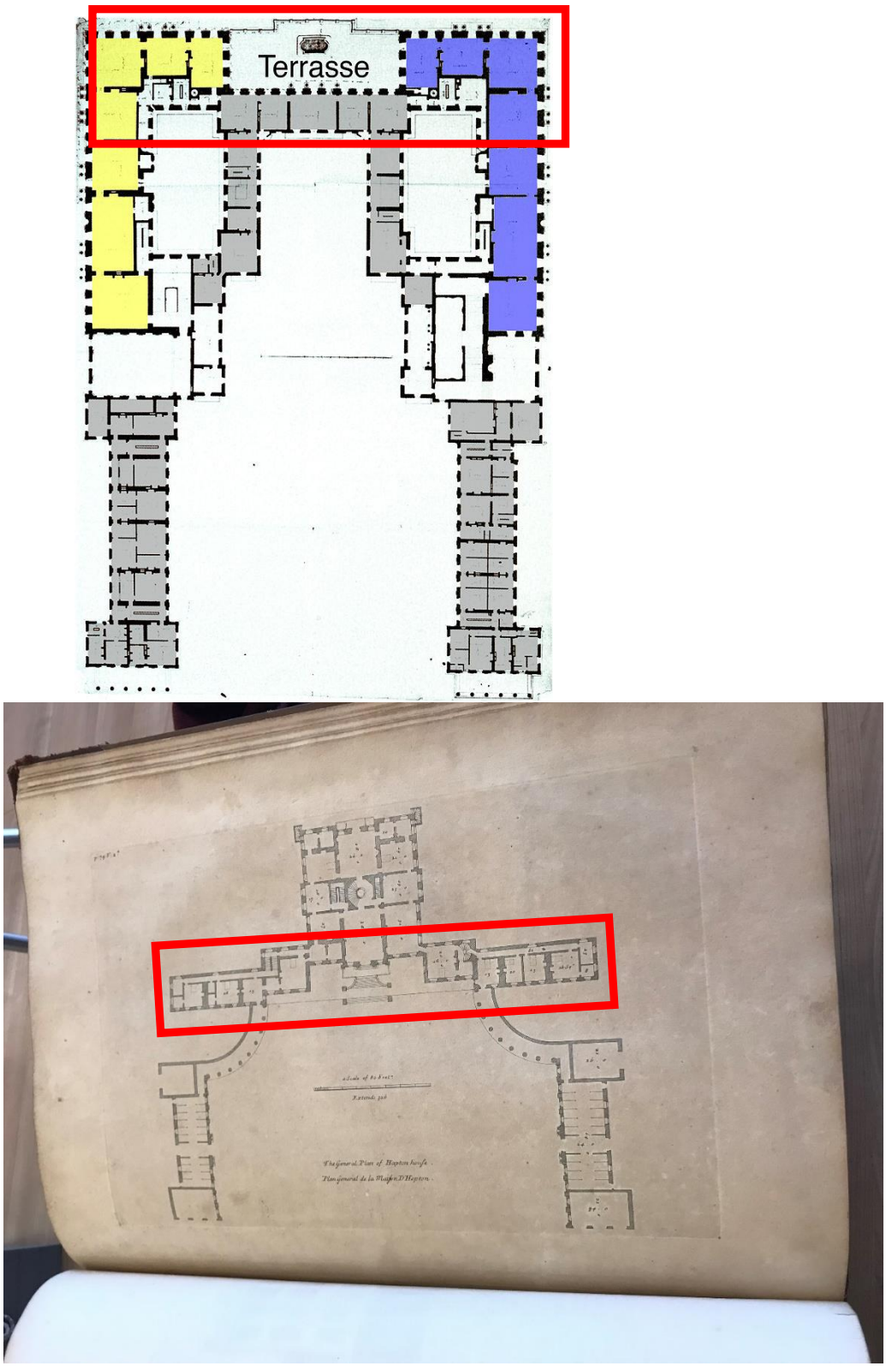
370 Berger, p. 64.

371 *Ibid.* It should be noted that the western, first-floor terrace was later filled in by Jules Hardouin-Mansart to create the *Galerie des Glaces*.

372 Louis Le Vau, Château de Versailles with Petit Château and Envelope, circa 1668-1674, from Wikiwand, http://www.wikiwand.com/en/History_of_the_Palace_of_Versailles (accessed 12 May, 2018).

373 Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Château de Clagny, near Versailles (demolished), circa 1675-1682, from *This Is Versailles*, http://thisisversaillesmadame.blogspot.com/2015/04/chateau-de-clagny.html (accessed 15 May, 2018).

Perhaps this choice of design was slightly ostentatious for a family that were merely barons. However, it bears repeating that Louis XIV's court was the end-all for high fashion; those in the know would have followed in the Sun King's footsteps. Furthermore, incorporating royal court architecture into one's country house through the floor plan was the safest and least brazen method.



(*Figure 3.19,* Louis Le Vau, Floor plan Château de Versailles with Petit Château and Envelope, circa 1668-1674, from Wikiwand, and Floor plan of Hopetoun House)

If the western end of Le Vau's Versailles and Marly's floor plan are fused together, it is not far away from Bruce's design for Hopetoun House. However, there is a much closer resemblance between Hopetoun's main block and such structures as Capra or Trissino. However, it is by far and away closest to Serlio's plan brought to light by Howard. It therefore appears that Hopetoun is a fusion of Serlio's plan and Louis XIV's latest *châteaux*; both were the end-all of architectural fashion of the Continent from two different periods and two different countries. Nonetheless, Palladio also clearly played a defining role through his use of centralised floor plans, terraces, quadrant colonnades, and spatial hierarchy. It also, of course, should not be forgotten that agriculture was a defining aspect in Palladio's villas. As will be explored later, agriculture played a key factor in Hopetoun's design. In short, not only does all this express Bruce's deep and expansive knowledge and experience in architectural design, it would have showcased the Hopes' cosmopolitan taste and aristocracy. As Sibbald would comment in 1710, Hopetoun's 'Rooms are stately and well contrived, and are suteably [sic] furnished: there is a fine Scale-Stair under the Cupula [sic].'[374] In a similar light, Hopetoun's façades were also a fusion of influences.

b. Possible Sources of Inspiration for Hopetoun's Façades

In a similar vein to the design for Hopetoun's floor plan, the house's exterior is an amalgamation of architectural influences. Hopetoun's entrance façade featured two masonry techniques that were very common to French architecture during the seventeenth century: channelled rustication and quoins (*chaînage de pierre*). While the garden front is constructed in smooth ashlar masonry, its corners were also accentuated by quoins. Another French feature of the façades was that Hopetoun House had multiple roofs

374 Sir Robert Sibbald, *The History Ancient and Modern, of the Sheriffdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling* (Edinburgh, 1710), p. 21, from *A Collection of Several Treatises in Folio, Concerning Scotland, As it was of Old, and also in later Times* (Edinburgh, 1739), from *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/informark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tablD=T001&docId=CW101229902&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FACSIMILE (accessed 4 September, 2018).

covering the main block, pavilions, and wings. However, Hopetoun's façade was not simply characterised by these basic French architectural motifs.

Palladio also seems to have influenced two prominent features of Hopetoun's entrance facade. The first, of course, is the frontispiece, which was composed of a triple-arcade entrance with pediment above the second storey. Macaulay identified Villa Gazzotti-Grimani as a possible source of influence. Another may have been Villa Saraceno, whose frontispiece is composed of a triple Tuscan arcade and pediment. However, they are not identical since Hopetoun's frontispiece was articulated with Tuscan pilasters and engaged columns, as well as a more ornate frieze. It also, of course, was two storeys tall. Nonetheless, a third villa, the Villa Godi, possibly contributed to Hopetoun's design since it also contained a two-storey frontispiece with a ground-storey triple arcade. In short, it is entirely possible that Hopetoun's triple arcade entrance derived from a Palladian source.

Villa Godi may have also influenced Hopetoun in the overall shape of its façade. Indeed, Hopetoun's three-bay frontispiece was encased between two three-bay projecting blocks. According to Ackerman, 'a three-bay loggia flanked by two projecting tower-like blocks' was a common house form 'bound unconsciously to an ancient tradition' and was found across the Italian peninsula.[375] This building style belonged to 'the Rome without Hellenistic roots, of simple structures made by the engineers and untouched by the decorators.'[376] Palladadio's early work combined the old with the new, as did sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French nobles. This would have spoken to Bruce who, of course, famously redesigned ancient Scottish seats to combine the original tower houses with modern, classical tastes.

Bruce's use of this ancient form is significant in a second way. Recalling Lowrey's analysis of the landscape surrounding Hopetoun, Abercorn was originally believed to have been the endpoint for the Hadrian wall. In other

375 Ackerman, p. 43.
376 *Ibid.*

words, the Hopes' property was believed to have been the original border between Britannia and Caledonia. As such, Hopetoun's Roman form would not have been considered out of place at all but was rather the revival of vernacular tradition. Much can be made of the Palladian influences of Hopetoun's entrance façade. However, Hopetoun, as with Bruce's other designs, was more complex than a copycat Palladian villa.

Although limited in their incorporation, the orders would necessarily have derived from some of the many architectural treatises (both French and Italian) that were popular at the time. Neither the Doric nor the Ionic columns appear to copy any specific theorist. The Doric order at Hopetoun is unfluted (as was Barbaro's, Cataneo's, Alberti's, Bulliant's, and de l'Orme's) but also has egg and dart moulding (as did Scamozzi's).[377] The volutes of Hopetoun's Ionic capitals are pushed inward, as with Scamozzi's. At the same time, the capitals extended farther down the column shafts than usual.[378] Hopetoun's Ionic columns were also unfluted, as were Cataneo's, Alberti's, and Vignola's.[379] There is not enough detail in the engraving to discern the source of the Corinthian columns. Nevertheless, the two Ionic entablatures (one is embedded in the west portico and the other encircles the eaves of the roofs) most closely resemble Barbaro's.[380] In general, Bruce designed both of Hopetoun's façades in a restrained classical style. However, he pulled details from a variety of popular theorists in his designs for the ordered ornamentation.

However, a great deal of time passed between the publications of these treatises. By the turn of the eighteenth century, these treatises' influence had spread across Western Europe. The form of individual features in Hopetoun's

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377 Roland Fréart de Chambray, translated by John Evelyn, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern* (London: 1707), pp. 29-37, from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tabID=T001&docId=CW106444640&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE (accessed 31 October, 2018).

378 Fréart de Chambray, translated by Evelyn, p. 49.

379 Fréart de Chambray, translated by Evelyn, pp. 53-5.

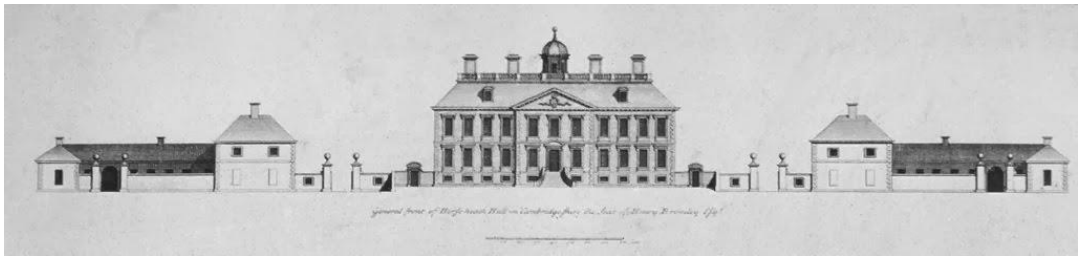
380 Fréart de Chambray, translated by Evelyn, p. 53.

façades may therefore have been influenced by sources outside of Palladio and other sixteenth-century writers. Ottenheym has argued that Hopetoun was modelled after English examples since there are no Dutch country houses that directly resemble Hopetoun. It is true that there are similarities between Hopetoun and post-Restoration English country houses. For example, Hopetoun and Robert Hooke's Ramsbury Manor (begun 1681) shared the following similarities: hipped roofs, the proportion and distribution of windows, the three-bay frontispiece, and corners accentuated by quoins (*Figure 3.20*).[381] Bruce's Hopetoun is also strikingly similar to Sir Roger Pratt's Horseheath Hall (1663) through its frontispiece, cupola, and balustraded hipped roof (*Figures 3.21* and *3.22*).[382] It seems hard to argue against the influence of English examples on Hopetoun House. However, it also stands to reason that Dutch models did have an influence on Hopetoun.

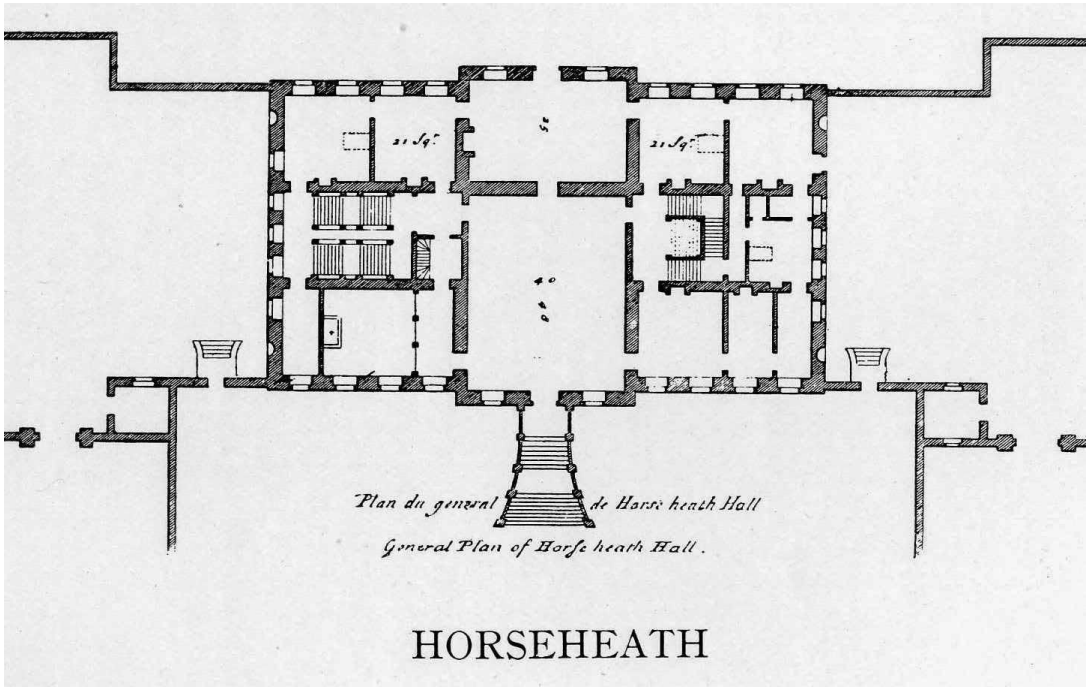
(*Figure 3.20,* Robert Hooke, Ramsbury Manor, Wiltshire, begun 1681, from *Alchetron*)

381 Robert Hooke, Ramsbury Manor, Wiltshire, begun 1681, from *Alchetron,* https://alchetron.com/Ramsbury-Manor (accessed 12 May, 2018). A floor plan of Ramsbury Hall could not be found.

382 Sir Roger Pratt, Horseheath Hall, Cambridgeshire, 1663, from *Landed Families*, http://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2013/11/86-alington-of-horseheath-hall-and.html (accessed 12 May, 2018); Sir Roger Pratt, Horseheath Hall Floor plan, Cambridgeshire, 1663, from *Landed Families,* http://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2013/11/86-alington-of-horseheath-hall-and.html (accessed 31 October, 2018).



(*Figure 3.21,* Sir Roger Pratt, Horseheath Hall, Cambridgeshire, 1663, from *Landed Families*)



(*Figure 3.22,* Sir Roger Pratt, Horseheath Hall Floor plan, Cambridgeshire, 1663, from *Landed Families*)

The Hopes, who had major business dealings in Rotterdam through Leadhills, perhaps identified with the Dutch approach to architecture.

According to Konrad Ottenheym:

‘In this mercantile world of civic patricians and prominent merchants, property and wealth determined social status, and the upper level of urban society, dominated chiefly by *nouveaux riches,* deployed external appearances in their competition for superiority. This quality made Classicism universally applicable, especially the astylar manner that was popularised almost simultaneously with the application of the orders. This austere “less is more” ideal, which began to dominate during the second half of the century, corresponded to the classical concern with rational order, well-balanced proportions, and the limited use of exterior decorations.’[383]

383 Konrad Ottenheym and Kirsta De Jonge, ‘Chapter 1.2: The Architecture of the Low Countries and Its International Reception, 1480-1680: A Bird’s Eye View,’ Konrad Ottenheym

If the Hopes subtly presented their (as of yet low-ranking) aristocracy through Hopetoun's floor plan, they explicitly showcased their status as wealthy industrialists and international traders through the façades. Better known Dutch landmarks, rather than domestic structures alone, may have stood as perfect models for Hopetoun—especially given the fact that both Bruce and the Hopes travelled to the major cities of Holland. The temple frontispiece of Hopetoun's entrance façade is a miniature version of the same feature at Maastricht Townhall (see *Figure 22*). Indeed, the first and third storeys of Maastricht's central portico combine to make one with a Doric arcade on the lower storey and a simpler upper storey, all of which is crowned by a pediment. The only major difference is that the second storey of Hopetoun's portico is not marked by Doric pilasters. Although not an exact copy, the resemblance is compelling. While Hopetoun's floor plan was modelled after Serlio and Louis XIV's *châteaux*, its entrance façade resembled the restrained classicism of English country houses and Dutch civic buildings, all the while incorporating traditional French motifs and the theories of prominent sixteenth-century writers.

Meanwhile, Hopetoun's cupola also strongly resembles Amsterdam Townhall's (which is also Corinthian; *Figure 3.23*).[384] With that being said, Hopetoun's cupola has a complex historical context. It has been said that Hopetoun's was the first to be built in Scotland—even in Britain.[385] However, this is a bit of a misnomer. It should be said that this was the first cupola *of its ilk* to be built in Scotland. Others cupolas were built before Hopetoun's—including Craigiehall's, complete with gilded globe and spike, in 1699 (*Figures 3.24, 3.25*).[386] This one was constructed in imitation of the cupola at

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and Krista de Jonge, editors, *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013): p. 29.

384 Cornelis de Graeff, Amsterdam Townhall, 1655, from *EA Tours*, https://eatours.com/town-hall-in-amsterdam/ (accessed 20 May, 2018).

385 Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 6.

386 Lowrey, 'Bruce and His Circle,' p. 5. Image: Sir William Bruce, Craigiehall House Facade, begun 1699, from William Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus* (Edinburgh: 1812), plate 87,

Bruce's Kinross House, begun 1686, which Gifford argues was modelled after the one at Sir Roger Pratt's 1650 Coleshill House (*Figure 3.26*).[387] Kinross's cupola also resembles the ones at Holyrood Palace (*Figure 3.27)*.[388] Lowrey also pointed out in 1989 that Hopetoun's cupola was unique in that it was built as part of the domed staircase below (a notion seconded by Ottenheym in 2008). It was not a wholly separate structure as at Kinross, Craigiehall, or even Clarendon and Montagu. Whatever the case, there is clearly a complex historical context for Hopetoun's cupola in Scotland.

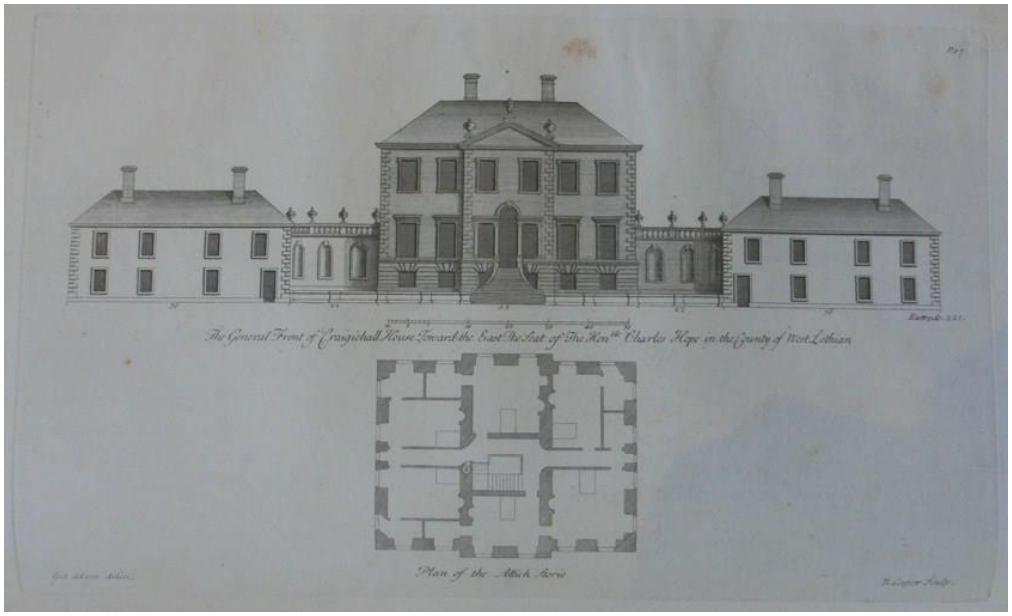
(*Figure 3.23,* Cornelis de Graeff, Amsterdam Townhall, 1655, from *EA Tours*)

from *Google Sites,* https://sites.google.com/site/researchpages2/home/vitruvius-scoticus (accessed 30 October, 2018).

387 Lowrey, 'Bruce and his Circle,' p. 6; John Gifford, *William Adam: 1689-1748: A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd., 1989), p. 58; William Bruce, Kinross House, Kinross, UK, begun ca. 1679, from *Kinross House*, http://kinrosshouse.com/welcome/ (accessed 26 January, 2016).

388 Sir William Bruce, Holyroodhouse Palace, renovations began 1671, Edinburgh, UK, photograph from *Royal Residences*, https://www.royal.uk/royal-residences-palace-holyroodhouse (accessed 30 October, 2018).

(*Figure 3.24,* Sir William Bruce, Craigiehall House, begun 1699, South Queensferry, UK, photograph taken by author)



(*Figure 3.25,* Sir William Bruce, Craigiehall House, begun 1699, South Queensferry, UK, from William Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus,* from *Google Sites*)

(*Figure 3.26,* William Bruce, Kinross House, Kinross, Scotland, begun circa 1679, from *Kinross House*)

(*Figure 3.27,* Sir William Bruce, Holyroodhouse Palace, renovations begun 1671, Edinburgh, UK, photograph from *Royal Residences*)

All that is left to discuss now is the extant garden façade. The first section has already pointed out that it is the humbler version of the entrance façade. The differences between the entrance and garden façades can be explained by the fact that the latter borders rooms and exterior spaces that were more intimate and leisurely than the front of the house. Thus, there was not such a need to impress and present an authoritative image in this area. While the window articulation in the garden façade mirrors the entrance façade's, its two main decorative features are derived from elsewhere. Macaulay's observation that the segmental pediment resembles objects that can be found in Le Muet's *Manière de Bien Bastir* has already been pointed out (see *Figures 2.5, 2.6, 2.7*).

The west façade portico, meanwhile, is taken directly from the entrance portico at Kinross House. According to Hopetoun's building contract, the garden façade portico was to be constructed:

'with a stair from the Garden Room to the parter [parterre] with pillars of the Ionic order; Architrave freize [sic] and Cornish, pletts stepps [sic], Ballestars [sic], and pedestals like the porches of *Kinross* house fitted for a balcony above it as the same is drawen and designed All of ym in fine exact work polished as smooth as paper.'[389]

In other words, Bachope was to build an Ionic portico on top of the staircase that connected the garden-*parterres* to the west entrance, which was in direct imitation of the one at Kinross House (*Figure 3.28*).[390] There are only two noticeable differences between Kinross's entrance portico and Hopetoun's garden portico, the less obvious being that Hopetoun's double-Ionic columns are closer together. Secondly, there is no pediment on top of Hopetoun's garden portico! However, the pediment of Kinross's entrance portico contains a small, arched niche, which makes it quite similar to the pediment on Hopetoun's entrance front. It is as if Bruce "cut and pasted" various features of Kinross onto Hopetoun. This reinforces the notion that Hopetoun's original design was a complex amalgamation of Bruce's previous designs (Craigiehall and Kinross in particular) and foreign sources.

389 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 80-85.

390 William Bruce, Kinross House portico, designed circa 1679, from *Visit Dunkeld*, http://www.visitdunkeld.com/kinross-house.html (accessed 26 June, 2018).

(*Figure 3.28,* William Bruce, Kinross House portico, designed circa 1679, from *Visit Dunkeld)*

Conclusion

Taking into account the scholars' conclusions, sixteenth-century architectural writers, contemporary fashions, Bruce's lifework, and the Hopes' tastes and experiences, it becomes abundantly clear that Hopetoun is an extremely complex design stylistically speaking. The floor plan derives from Palladian predecessors, a drawing from Serlio's Book VI, and Louis XIV's *châteaux* (particularly Le Vau's 1668 design of Versailles). A variety of French motifs and architectural treatises, Dutch landmarks, English precedents, and Bruce's previous designs all intertwined to create the east and west elevations. What this shows is that Bruce had a very sophisticated handle of key architectural theoriests and the latest fashions for architecture in Western Europe. He brought it all to life in designing Hopetoun. It also underscores that Scots had a very strong understanding and knowledge of classical architecture and baroque floor plans by this period. For a family as ambitious as the Hopes, this was critically important for them to cement their aristocratic status and ascend the social ladder further. The next question is how the Hopes came to commission such a country seat at the end of the

seventeenth century. As the next chapter will explore, it fell to the responsibility of Lady Margaret Hope.

Chapter IV: Lady Margaret Hope's Role in Shaping and Developing the Hopetoun Estate

Introduction

An in-depth study of Hopetoun House would be incomplete without a discussion of Lady Margaret Hope, the first earl's mother. Not only was she the patron of Bruce's Hopetoun, she played a key role in managing and developing the family's large estate after her husband's death in 1682. Very little has been written about her, and the records about her that do survive are mainly financial and legal in nature. Although no such documents as diaries or personal letters have been found, the sorts of materials that do survive can still tell modern readers a great deal more about her management of the estate than is already known. The aim of this chapter is to analyse Lady Margaret Hope's role as estate administrator before commissioning Hopetoun House. The legal titles she was granted after her husband's death were tutrix, curatrix, and intromitter.[391]

The Scots legal definitions of these terms outline more precisely what Lady Margaret's responsibilities were. According to Scots law, a tutor/tutrix was 'the guardian of children in pupillarity: may be named by parents (*tutor nominate*); appointed by the Court (*tutor dative*); or entitled at law (*tutor-of-law*).'[392] The Scots legal definition of a curator/curatrix was 'a person either entitled *ex lege* or appointed by the Court or an individual to administer the estate of another, as of a minor or insane person.'[393] A minor was 'a young person, between 12 and 21, if female; 14 and 21, if male. But it may be used in the wider sense of a person under 21.'[394] Meanwhile, a pupil referred to 'children up to 12 (girls) or 14 (boys). *Pupillarity* is the state of being a

391 Although the gendering of such titles does not occur in the 21st century, these were nonetheless the official titles she was given in 1682. Because women in seventeenth-century Scotland had fewer freedoms under Scots law, these titles held a different legal significance for women as they did for men. As such, this thesis will continue to refer to her as "tutrix" and "curatrix" for the sake of historical consistency.

392 Andrew Dewar Gibb, LL.B., 'tutor,' in *Students' Glossary of Scottish Legal Terms,* ed. Andrew Dewar Gibb (Edinburgh: W. Green & Son, Ltd., 1946), p. 91.

393 Gibb, 'curator,' in *Students' Glossary,* ed. Gibb, p. 26.

394 Gibb, 'minor,' in *Students' Glossary* ed. Gibb, p. 55.

pupil.'[395] In other words, Lady Margaret was the tutrix of her children until the ages of twelve (for Helen) and fourteen (for Charles) and was thereafter their curatrix until they turned 21. In both cases, she was charged with their care, the management of their affairs, and the administration of their estates. Furthermore, her titles of tutrix and curatrix are also often followed by the phrase *sine qua non*, which translates as 'indispensable; absolutely necessary or essential.'[396] Lady Margaret clearly held a special position in the maintenance of the Hopetoun estate. Surviving documentation reflects that she (as John Hope's widow and the mother of his children) was given legal precedence over all that was involved in the management of the Hopetoun estate.[397]

Indeed, Lady Margaret was granted the role of tutrix directly by her husband in his will and testament alongside John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, the Fifth Earl of Haddington, William, Lord Lindsay, Henry

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395 Gibb, 'pupil,' in *Students' Glossary,* ed. Gibb, p. 70.

396 Oxford English Dictionary [OED], '*Sine qua non*, n.,' *OED Online*, September 2016, Oxford University Press, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/Entry/180078?redirectedFrom=sine+qua+non#eid (accessed 16 November, 2016).

397 Of the many documents that have been found, here are some key examples: Adam Scott, writer in Edinburgh, 'Discharge the Tutors of Hopetoune to the Viscount of Tarbitt 1685,' 1685, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; Charles Hope, Henrietta Johnstone, and witnesses, 'Marriage Contract between Charles Hope and Henrietta Johnstone, 21 August, 1699,' marriage contract, 21 August, 1699, NRAS/888 Bundle 2489, HHPT; Mr. John Nisbet, servitor, 'Discharge Mr. Thomas Gordon, writer, and Jannet Fletcher, his spouse, to Lady Margaret Hope in name of Charles Hope,' 2 April, 1685, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; David Hay, servitor to James Hay, Writer to the Signet, 'Discharge of Two Years Few Duties be the Earle of Lithgow to the Ladie Hopetoun of 177 lb 3S 8d 1685,' 18 December, 1685, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; George Keith, 'Bank of Scotland Contract'; John Scott, Writer in Edinburgh, 'Discharge be the Lady Rosline to Charles Hope of Hopetoune & his tutors for 1452 pund 1683,' 6 December, 1683, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; Adam Scott, Writer in Edinburgh, 'Discharge John Gibsone to Lady Margaret Hope in name of Charles Hope,' 4 February, 1687, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2779, HHPT; John Scott, Writer in Edinburgh, 'Contract between Lady Margaret Hope in name of Charles Hope, with advice and consent of Sir William Hope of Granton and Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, and Mr Robert Blackwood and John Gratsone, merchant burgesses in Edinburgh, for the sale of lead ore,' 20 and 30 April, 1686, financial contract, NRAS/888 Bundle 2779, HHPT; Andrew Hog, 'Receipt confirming Lady Margaret's receiving 3000 merks Scots from John Sheriff in Byres,' 3 and 6 July, 1685, receipt, NRAS/888 Bundle 2779, HHPT; Andrew Hog, writer, 'Contract between Lady Margaret Hope, in name of Charles Hope, with advice and consent of Sir William Hope of Kirklistoune and Mr. Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, and Mr. Robert Blackwood and John Watsone, merchant burgesses of Edinburgh, for the sale of lead ore,' 12 April, 1687, financial contract, NRAS/888 Bundle 2780, HHPT.

Erskine, Lord Cardross, Patrick Lindsay of Kilburney, Sir Alexander Hope of Granton, Sir John Harper of Camnthem [sic], David Bethume [sic] of Creich, Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Sir Alexander Hope of Kerse, and his brother, William Hope.[398] As John Hope specified that they were to keep this post until Helen and Charles reached their majority, they were all nominated as curators, as well.[399] Lady Margaret, Sir Archibald Hope, and the Fifth Earl of Haddington were also made intromitters, who were people legally granted 'the possession and management of property belonging to someone else.'[400] With these titles, Lady Margaret was the principal manager and administrator of Charles's affairs. As John Hope's widow and mother to his children (and heir), she was the obvious choice as his replacement. However, this does not negate the fact that she was tasked with enormous responsibilities in managing and promoting the estate in her son's name.

One of Lady Margaret's duties as tutrix/curatrix was to safeguard her son's special interests, which included his education and marriage prospects. John Hope included in his will and testament his desire for his children to be educated properly: 'to mantaine bread and educate my said hail children att schools and with other vertous breading as becomes their rank and quality.'[401] Charles Hope was educated in Edinburgh and even attended Edinburgh University from 1692 (although he did not graduate).[402] It was also 'with the special advice and consent of Lady Margarett Hamiltone' that Charles Hope's marriage was arranged in 1699.[403] He married Henrietta Johnstone, daughter of William Johnstone, the First Marquess of Annandale.[404] Such an alliance would have been politically advantageous for an ambitious family: Lady Margaret's political machinations also resulted in

398 John Hope, 'Will and Testament of John Hope of Hopetoun.'
399 *Ibid.*
400 Scottish Archive Network, 'Intromission, n.,' 'Glossary,' *Scottish Archive Network*, http://www.scan.org.uk/researchrtools/glossary_i.htm (accessed 21 March, 2017).
401 John Hope, 'Ffollowes the bond of provision in favours of the Children.'.
402 T.F. Henderson, 'Hope, Charles.'
403 Charles Hope, Henrietta Johnstone, and witnesses, 'Marriage Contract.'
404 *Ibid.* In 1699, William Johnstone was still the Second Earl of Annandale and Hartfell.

Charles Hope being given the title of the First Earl of Hopetoun in 1703 at the young age of 22.[405] Of course, Charles Hope was also the heir to John Hope's estate. Once he reached majority, it was up to him to build the family's wealth and act as the family's figurehead. Lady Margaret's duty was to ensure that he was ready for the task. As will be seen, Lady Margaret's duties expanded beyond arranging prosperous marriages for her children and helping to shape her son's political life. Besides safeguarding Charles's legacy, she had to protect his financial interests, as well. Given the size of the Hopes' holdings, this was not a simple or easy task.

The first section will explore Lady Margaret's administrative and financial responsibilities. It will first be important to analyse Lady Margaret's spending patterns following her husband's death. She was very careful in settling his debts. The second section will then examine how Lady Margaret made money and encouraged the growth of the Hopetoun estate. This will provide the financial context for the commission and construction Hopetoun House in 1698. Her patronage of Hopetoun House was the culmination of her role as administrator and manager of the estate and Charles's financial affairs. There are several issues that arise from this discussion, however. The most glaringly obvious one is that not all the documentation from this period survives. This inevitably leads to an incomplete survey of the Hopetoun estate's financial advancement. Furthermore, financial records from this period are not the same type of as those used today—total earnings and expenditures were not listed in single documents. As such, any calculations of income that are made must unfortunately be approximated. Due to the sheer size of the Hopes' agricultural holdings at the end of the seventeenth century and the scattered quantities of appropriate documentation, this survey must limit itself to the Barony of Hopetoun (the area surrounding Leadhills) for the sake of simplicity. Nonetheless, the research that has been conducted for this dissertation still illustrates the following: Lady Margaret's scrupulous and skilled financial management; the

405 See Appendix A.

state of the Hopetoun estate at the end of the seventeenth century; and its simultaneous steady growth and diversification.

I. Lady Margaret Hope's Expenditures, circa 1682-1699

Based on extant documentation, many of Lady Margaret's duties immediately following her husband's death were driven towards paying pre-existing debts and furthering the family's wealth. As was customary for wealthy men trying to climb the social ladder into the upper echelons of aristocracy, John Hope had accrued a number of debts as a consequence of borrowing money from friends, family, and business associates. However, he also lent out a lot of money. Among the records that follow John Hope's will and testament are two lists: while one records the amount of money owed to him by various parties, the other does the exact opposite. By his death in 1682, John Hope was owed an astonishing £118,603.3s.8d Scots (nearly £10,000 sterling), including £25,600 from the Earl of Haddington, £2,000 from the Earl of Argyle, £19,000 from the Earl of Crawford, and £22,666.13s from the Earl of Marischal.[406] Meanwhile, John Hope was another £134,800 Scots (approximately £11,233.6s.8d sterling) in debt to other people. Records survive proving that Lady Margaret nulled her husband's debts to five members of the latter list: Jean Spotswood, Lady Rosslyn (in name of her deceased husband James Sinclair, Laird of Rosslyn), John Gibson (the Earl of Winton), Lord Castlehill, and William Hog.[407] She also made payments to people not part of this list, which perhaps means that more debts were unearthed at some point after John Hope's posthumous affairs were put in order. It is clear that Lady Margaret's first step as a widow was to put the family's finances in order.

Messrs. Hary Foulls [sic], John Wiseheart, Hew Dallrymple [sic], and Collen McKenne [sic] (representing Lady Rosslyn) sent out a threatening

406 Unknown Writer, 'Ffollowes the List of Debts dew to the deceist John Hope of Hopetoun,' circa 1683, record of debts, NRAS/88 Volume 336, HHPT.
407 Unknown Writer, 'Ffollowes the Last of the debts that was dew by John Hope of Hopetoun att his deceis,' circa 1683, record of debts, NRAS/888 Volume 336, HHPT.

notice to Lady Margaret on 8 November, 1683.[408] Lady Rosslyn was owed £4,452 Scots for a bond signed between her deceased husband, James Sinclair, and the deceased John Hope of Hopetoun on 24 December, 1680.[409] This decree also outlines that an additional £600 Scots was due to her as a failzier payment: John Hope agreed in the original bond that 'longer delay Together with the soumen [sic] of Six Hundreth pounds money forsd of Liquidat penaltie expense by & attour the sd princll soume and @ rent yrof forsd In caise of failzie.'[410] Though John Hope agreed to repay this bond the following Whitsundsay (18 May), 1681, Lady Rosslyn's representatives confirmed that 'it be of veritie that there was noe payment maid be the deceist John Hop of Hoptoun to the said [illegible] James Sinclar of Rosline' prior to his death.[411] The infant Charles Hope ultimately inherited that debt, and Lady Margaret, Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, the Fifth Earl of Haddington, and Charles's other tutors and curators, were effectively ordered to pay back this considerable sum.[412] Lady Margaret nulled this nearly three-year-old debt the following month on 6 December, 1683.[413] Lady Rosslyn was clearly frustrated and Lady Margaret took this decree seriously enough to gather the necessary funds together in less than a month. This was not the only debt Lady Margaret was charged with settling, however.

John Hope had also signed a £1000 Scots bond on 8 February, 1679 with John Gibson of Newbiggings and Musselburgh.[414] He agreed to repay this sum by Lammas (1 August), 1679, with the threat of a 100 merk failzier.[415] Gibson was finally repaid in July, 1687; that he mentioned the fact

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408 Messrs. Harry Foulis, John Wiseheart, Hugh Dalrymple, and Collen McKenne, 'Decreitt Lady Rosline against Charles Hope of Hopetoune and his tutrix, 1683,' 8 November, 1683, legal decree, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT.

409 *Ibid*.

410 John Hamilton, servitor to Mr Archibald Wyket of Carfin, Writer to the Signet, 'Band [Bond] be Hopetoun to Rosline for 4452 Scots, 1680,' 24 December, 1680, bond, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT. A failzier payment is called a penalty clause in modern English.

411 *Ibid.*

412 *Ibid.*

413 John Scott, 'Discharge be the Lady Rosline.'

414 Mr. Francis Kincaid, servitor to Mr. Nisbet, Writer to the Signet, 'Bond Be John Hope of Hopetoune John Gibson, 1678,' 8 February, 1679, NRAS/888 Bundle 2,778, HHPT.

415 *Ibid.*

that he had spent nearly ten years waiting for this settlement indicates that he, too, was exasperated at this delay in repayment.[416] John Hope had also signed several bonds on 10 March, 1677, which he agreed to repay on Martinmas (11 November), 1682, that amounted to 58,885 merks. Lady Margaret paid back the Lord of Ker 10,450 merks, Colonel Thomsone 17,765 merks, and James McLang an astonishing 25,750 merks on Martinmas, 1686.[417] There remained only 4,920 merks to be paid for that set of bonds.[418] The Hopetoun estate also owed various parties an additional £4,460.16s Scots, which was the result of a combination of factors: it included small personal debts; outstanding feu duties in Kirkliston, Ecclismachen, and Lasswade; the funding for new highways; and contractual payments.[419] In fact, the estate managed to over-settle, requiring the Earl of Winton to repay the Hopes £1,809.19s Scots.[420] He also signed a receipt of discharge on 9 November, 1683, acknowledging Lady Margaret's payment of £80,000 Scots for an old bond; John Hope's posthumous list of debts only mentions a £20,000 debt.[421] A receipt of discharge signed by Sir John Lockhart of Castlehill (listed as Lord Castlehill in John Hope's posthumous list of debts) on 9 December, 1686, documented that Lady Margaret had paid 2,000 merks, in addition to £80,000 Scots, to settle a bond signed between Lockhart and John Hope on 21 December, 1680.[422] Clearly, the list of debts compiled after John's death was not final and a great deal more was unearthed in the following years.

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416 William Ratheford, Servitor to Andrew Hay, Writer in Edinburgh, 'Discharge by John Gibson to the Hopetoun Estate [no name mentioned explicitly],' July, 1687, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT.

417 Unknown Writer, 'Due be the Deceaist [sic] John Hope of Hopetoune to the Earl of Burtoune at Martimes 1682,' 30 March, 1683, record of money owed, and receipt of discharge added 1686, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT.

418 *Ibid.*

419 *Ibid.*

420 *Ibid.*

421 Mr John Inghs, Servitor to Mr. Alexander Drummond, Writer in Edinburgh, 'Band be the Laird of Hopetoune to the Earl of Winton,' 9 November, 1683, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'List of Debts due by John Hope.'

422 John Taylzeer, Servitor to John Cainghame, Writer to the Signet, 'Discharge My Lord Castlehill to to [sic] the Laird of Hopetoune and his Caur, 1686,' 9 December, 1686, NRAS/888 Bundle 2779, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'List of Debts due by John Hope.'

In the years following John Hope's death, Lady Margaret managed to settle hundreds of thousands of pounds Scots worth of debts. Although any documentation that explicitly suggests that John Hope was financially irresponsible (or otherwise) has not been found, the lists of money owed to and by John Hope reveal the financial disarray of his estate. Moreover, it is clear that several of the debtees were frustrated with the long-delayed payments that they were owed. According to the above receipts of discharge, Lady Margaret spent the 1680s rectifying the estate's financial security, responsibility, and trustworthiness. While it was normal for aristocrats and gentlemen to go into debt over the requirements of the "noble lifestyle," the Hopes were doubly business-men; Charles's further social advancement was reliant on his financial stability and reputation, as well as the overall health of their estate.

As a consequence, Lady Margaret was also diligent in the matter of payment of taxes. According to another receipt of discharge, Charles II granted Charles Maitland, the Second Earl of Lauderdale, the gift of one-tenth of the metal ores sourced from Leadhills (or 1,000 merks Scots) as payment for a feu duty.[423] It was early in 1686, with Lady Margaret's payment of 1,000 merks and 'fortie tents [sic] pairt of the Lead oars and uther [sic] minerals and metals' for the year between Martinmas, 1684 and Martinmas, 1685, that the Third Earl of Lauderdale released the Hopetoun estate from this duty.[424] As illustrated by a 1765 decree by George III, the Hopes did continue to pay the same amount as duty to the Crown under Queen Anne, George I, George II, and George III.[425] Therefore, the Hopes paid a standard duty of one-tenth of the metals sourced from Leadhills from the 1660s. However, the payee switched from the First Duke of Lauderdale (and subsequently the Third Earl of Lauderdale) to the Crown between 1686 and Queen Anne's assumption of the Crown. It is likely that this changeover was

423 Adam Scott, Writer in Edinburgh, 'Discharge Be the Earl of Lauderdale to the Lord of Hoptoune,' 10 February, 1686, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2779, HHPT.
424 *Ibid.*
425 George III, 'Tacks of King's to John Hope Feb 1765,' charter for tax exemption of Leadhills, 4 January, 1765, E107/87, NRS.

made in 1686 when the aforementioned receipt of discharge was signed. While no documentation has been found to support this, it must be remembered that the Duke of Lauderdale fell out with Charles II and the Third Earl of Lauderdale also suffered the repercussions of that event. It is possible that the Crown patiently waited for the contract between Lauderdale and the Hopes to expire before seizing control of the duty. In any case, what all this ultimately shows is that Lady Margaret (and her heirs) ensured that the estate's taxes were paid (and that they received special tax benefits).

Not only was Lady Margaret careful in clearing her deceased husband's debts and paying the estate's various duties, she also ensured that any debts that were made towards her family were cleared. One record shows that Lady Margaret chased down one of those people who had owed her husband money prior to his death. She managed to obtain a decree from the Lords of Council and Session that called upon Sir George Mackenzie, Viscount of Tarbat (who is listed as one of John Hope's debtees), to repay a 500 merk bond (with a 50 merk failzier) that he signed with John Hope in 1662.[426] However, not everything ran this smoothly. There is one record of Lady Margaret receiving a loan of 3,000 merks from John Sheriff in Byres in July, 1685; she agreed to repay this loan by Martinmas (11 November), 1685.[427] Given the enormous resources she had poured into settling past debts over the previous few years, that she needed a short-term loan is not surprising. It is impossible to know exactly how this loan was used, but there was an egregious cash shortage in Scotland at this time.[428] Credit dominated the Scottish economy as a consequence—particularly after the Glorious Revolution.[429] Of course, relying heavily on credit was a precarious business.

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426 Adam Scott, 'Discharge the Tutors of Hopetoune to the Viscount of Tarbitt 1685'; Unknown Writer, 'List of Debts dew to John Hope.'

427 Andrew Hugh, writer in Edinburgh, 'Receipt of Lady Margaret Hamilton's Loan of 3000 Merks from John Sheriff,' 3 and 6 July, 1685, receipt of a loan, NRAS/888 Bundle 2779, HHPT.

428 Richard Seville, 'Scottish Modernisation Prior to the Industrial Revolution, 1668-1763,' T.M. Devine and J.R. Young, eds., *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (Phantassie, East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 8, 12; Gifford, p. 22.

429 Seville, Devine and Young, eds., pp. 8, 15; Michael Fry, 'A Commercial Empire: Scotland and British Expansion in the Eighteenth Century,' Devine and Young, eds., p. 54.

Based on Lady Margaret's aforementioned management style, she believed in paying debts. Furthermore, running a growing estate on credit would not have been much different from living in debt. Instead, perhaps she used this borrowed money to pay smaller sums she owed like the ones discussed above. Another possibility is that she used it to make basic purchases as a buffer between making such large transactions until she accumulated more capital through the family's various ventures, such as land tenancies and the Leadhills mines. Whatever the case, there is evidence to support the notion that she was swift in paying for services.

A number of orders for clothes survive from the period of time following her husband's death and each contains a receipt of discharge for Lady Margaret's complete payment. A £22.14s.6d account of textiles, which included silk for 'drawers' and tabie for coat linings, dating to 6 April, 1681, was paid off in September, 1682.[430] Although John Hope originally made this order, Lady Margaret ended up being responsible for its payment. She made a £32.8s order for four ells of black tabie and nine ells of 'Worsted Curle' from an Isabell Graham in the spring of 1682 and had paid for the materials in full by September, 1682.[431] Lady Margaret had also paid Margaret Willson £411.8s for matters relating to John Hope's death and funeral, as well as £195.16s.4d for 'mournings' in September, 1682; John Hope had perished the previous May.[432] She was not simply scrupulous in managing her

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430 George Livingstone, 'Hopton his Acommpt Apryl ye 6th 1681 to George Livingstone Tailor,' 6 April, 1681, textile account, and September, 1682, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2776, HHPT. According to the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, 'tabie' was 'a variety of cloth, probably a type of silk.' From Dictionary of the Scots Language, s.v., "tabie," from *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/tabbie (accessed 29 November, 2016).

431 Isabell Graham, 'Compt Lady Margaret Hopton to Mrs. Cunningham, 1682, 32 lb. 8s,' 1682, account of textiles and receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2776, HHPT. According to the *Dictionary of the Scots Language,* 'Worsted' was 'the woollen fabric. Also with qualifier indicating colour, type, origin, use, quality, etc. b. *pl.* Particular sorts of worsted; articles made from worsted. Some examples may belong in 2 below.' From Dictionary of the Scots Language, s.v., "worsted," *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/worset (accessed 29 November, 2016). According to the *Dictionary of the Scots Language,* 'Curle' was 'some kind of fabric.' From Dictionary of the Scots Language, s.v., "curle," *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/curle (accessed 29 November, 2016).

432 Margaret Wilson, 'Receipt Margaret Wilson to Lady Margaret,' September, 1682, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2776, HHPT.

personal affairs. Her meticulous financial records indicate that she was also dutiful in managing the pecuniary matters of the Hopetoun estate that arose following John Hope's death. She paid her brother-in-law, Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, 16,000 merks for travelling to London and Holland 'for making the Contract wt the Leadoar [sic] Company' on 5 March, 1686.[433] In 1697, Lady Margaret paid Duchess Anne Hamilton £800 Scots for four years' tack duty on their lands in the Crawford parish.[434] A 1699 Bank of Scotland record also survives that details a variety of transactions, including Lady Margaret's May payment of £958.6s.8d to her factor, Thomas Pringle, who wrote up the Hopetoun building contract.[435] Indeed, her financial scrupulousness cannot be doubted. However, the question remains as to how the estate made enough money for Lady Margaret to pay off all these debts, bills, and taxes.

II. Lady Margaret's Role as Estate Administrator

a. Making Money through Land Tenancies

One way that the estate made money was, of course, through land tenancies.[436] It should be noted that this section will analyse a select few tack agreements from the early 1690s due to these paradoxical factors: although there are not many documents relating to the tenancies of the Hopes' extensive estate holdings from this period in Hopetoun's archives, there is a more complete number that do survive pertaining to the Barony of Hopetoun. The Barony of Hopetoun comprised the areas surrounding Leadhills. This relatively small sample of documents first show that Lady Margaret still made use of the communal style of land tenure (runrig), which evolved out of the feudal system.[437]

She arranged three-year contracts with her tenants in which they paid her a certain amount of money in exchange for use of the land (the rate of

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433 Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, 'Receipt of Discharge for Lead Business,' 5 March, 1686, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT.

434 Duchess Anne Hamilton, 'Discharge the Duches of Hamilton to Lady Marg Hope,' 26 June, 1697, NRAS/888 Bundle 2780, HHPT.

435 Unknown Writer, 'Account by debit & Credit betwixt The The [sic] same of the Bank & Lady Margarett [sic] Hope,' 1699, bank record, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT.

436 See Appendix B.

437 Whyte, *Edinburgh & the Borders*, p. 47.

rent varied according to the size and fertility of the area). These tenants could also act as tackmen, or sub-letters, and rent out portions of their rented land to sub-tenants, who would work the land for them. In short, Lady Margaret certainly made use of the feudalistic system of runrig. The largest tenancy agreement that has been found was signed between Lady Margaret, Robert Scot of Gillesbie, Francis Scot of Gilmencleugh, and Francis Scot of Grassyards in 1691; Robert Scot was the chief signee among the tenant party. In exchange for the tenancy of Waterhead, Glengonnar, Letburn, Glengeith, Glennochar, Pedwane, Watermeetings, Smithwood and Coume, Nethersingland, and Slatecraig, the three men were to pay Lady Margaret £3,425.8s.5d Scots twice per annum.[438]

As this was an enormous amount of land for the three tackmen to farm themselves, they necessarily would rent out smaller portions to subtenants; Lady Margaret still set and regulated that rent.[439] They were clearly dutiful tenants since Lady Margaret agreed to renew the rental agreement on 21 March, 1695 after the previous agreement's expiration on Whitsunday, 1694.[440] This rental agreement also included a hazard stipulation for Leadhills as a legal protection against any ire that could be incurred by Scot over the nearby mining and trading activities: 'the sds lands of Waterhead are to be sell & Accepted wt ye skaith & hazard of the ordinary damage that they may have be.'[441] That this clause was included in the agreement shows the economic importance of Leadhills. In return, Lady Margaret agreed to give them discounts on tack duties and the stipends for local ministers and

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438 Waterhead, Glengonnar, Glengeith, Glennochar, and Watermeetings are all located in Lanarkshire in close proximity to Leadhills. Mr Charty Sinclair, 'Agreement between lady Margaret Hope, Robert Scot of Gillesbie, Francis Scot of Gilmengleuch, and Francis Scot of Grassyairds, 1691,' 1691, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT; John Duff, 'Articles Betwixt Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun and Robert Scot of Gillespie,' 8 May, 1691, articles of tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

439 *Ibid.*

440 Thomas Pringle, 'Articles Betwixt Lady Margaret Hope of Hopton and Robert Scot (?) of Gillispie,' 20 March, 1695, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT; Whyte, p. 47. It should be noted that Whitsunday is the seventh Sunday after Easter.

441 *Ibid.*

schoolmasters; she also agreed to provide any timber necessary for her tenants.[442] Robert Scot and the two Francis Scots were just three of her many tackmen and tenants.

Lady Margaret signed an agreement with Walter Weir on 8 May, 1691 for the rental of Glencaple, which is about five miles south of Dumfries in Dumfries-shire.[443] The agreement was to start the following week on the fifteenth of May and was to last three years.[444] In return, Weir was to pay Lady Margaret £400 per annum and he was permitted to sublet this property to other tenants.[445] Lady Margaret renewed this rental agreement on 3 August, 1694 and the tack duty remained at £400.[446] In turn, subtenants would pay the tenant rather than Lady Margaret. Evidence of this comes from Mungo Williamson, who was Hopetoun's bailee and was also a subtenant of Robert Scot's holding of Watermeeting. In one of his letters to Lady Margaret discussing estate business, he mentions 'paying [his] rent to Robert Scot.'[447] More agreements were signed in addition to Weir's. Again on 8 May, 1691, Lady Margaret signed an agreement with Thomas Watson for the three-year subtenancy of Glengonnar in exchange for £251.2s.1d.[448] She signed another three-year agreement with the aforementioned Mungo Williamson on 8 May, 1691 for the tenancy of Shortcleugh and the subtenancy of Watermeetings; he was to pay £306.13s.4d and £153.6s.8d respectively for Shortcleugh and Watermeetings.[449] This agreement was renewed on 31 July,

442 *Ibid.*

443 Unknown Writer (John Duff?), 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope and Walter Weir of Glencaple, 8 May, 1691,' 8 May, 1691, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

444 *Ibid.*

445 *Ibid.*

446 Andrew Hunter of Lachrennie, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope and Walter Weir of Glencaple, 3 August, 1694,' 3 August, 1694, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

447 Mungo Williamson to Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun, 21 May, 1695, letter, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/16, HHPT.

448 John Duff, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret and Thomas Watson, 8 May, 1691.'

449 William Garrioch, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope and Mungo Williamson, 8 May, 1691,' 8 May, 1691, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

1694, with no change in Williamson's rents.[450] On 2 July, 1691, Lady Margaret signed a tenancy agreement with John and Alexander Williamson for the three-year subtenancy of Waterhead in exchange for £331 Scots.[451] These were not the only clauses in their agreement, however.

As with the aforementioned general agreement made with Robert Scot, there were stipulations made that would allow the activities of Leadhills to continue as normal without disturbing the agricultural activities of Waterhead.[452] This agreement was renewed 31 July, 1694 under the same conditions.[453] Lady Margaret signed another tack agreement the following day on 9 May, 1691, with John Williamson, a grieve, and James Williamson Smith for the subtenancy of Letburn.[454] In return, they were to pay Lady Margaret £124 Scots yearly.[455] Lady Margaret signed another agreement with John Williamson that also included Gilbert Watson on 9 July, 1691.[456] This one was a bit different in that John Williamson and Gilbert Watson were to take a subtenancy in Glenochar that totaled 'fyve score of soumes of the Lands.'[457] A soume was a unit of pasturage allotted to support a fixed number of livestock and it was often part of common pasturages.[458] As such, Williamson and Watson were guaranteed a certain amount of land for

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450 Unknown Writer, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope and Mungo Williamson, 31 July, 1694,' 31 July, 1694, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

451 Andrew Hog and William Bishop, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope in name of Charles Hope and John and Alexander Williamson, 2 July, 1691,' 2 July, 1691, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Paper, Class II/14, HHPT.

452 *Ibid.*

453 John Williamson, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope and John and Alexander Williamson, 31 July, 1694,' 31 July, 1694, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

454 John Duff, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope, John Williamson, and John Williamson Smith, 9 May, 1691,' 9 May, 1691, tack agreement, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

455 *Ibid.*

456 Unknown Writer (George Chamberlin?), 'Agreement between Lady Margaret Hope, John Williamson, and Gilbert Watson, 9 July, 1691,' 9 July 1691, tenancy contract, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT.

457 *Ibid.*

458 Dictionary of the Scots Language, s.v., "soume, n.," *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/soum_n_v1 (accessed 27 March, 2017); "sowming and rowming, n.,' *Glossary, Scottish Archive Network,* s.v., accessed 27 March, 2017, http://www.scan.org.uk/researchrtools/glossary_s.htm.

pasturing in Glenochar, probably sharing it alongside another subtenant; they were to pay Lady Margaret £434.8s in return.[459]

The compiling and signing of these agreements did not always occur smoothly, however. In the early summer of 1691, Lady Margaret received a letter detailing a snag in the tenancy-signing process: 'I offered them to the Tennants to subscryve, The qch they refused all to gither, The ressones wass [sic] that they refused, Robert Scot made ane [sic] offer to them when they wer [sic] conveined, That he woud [sic] set them ther [sic] Maillings, either on or thrie years tack att [sic] the sixt [sic] pairt ease The qch offer they did Imbrace And woud not Look on ther takes [tacks] any more [sic].'[460] This was in disobedience of her orders that she would set and regulate subtenancy rents.[461] Lady Margaret's control over the tenancy rentals allowed her to maintain order in the Hopetoun estate; any other situation clearly caused mild chaos amongst tenants and subtenants.[462] This micro-regulation was necessary for the economic health of the estate and it also prevented larger tenants like Robert Scot from taking advantage of small farmers and cottars.

Lady Margaret, like her aristocratic peers, also saw it as her responsibility to keep her tenants' morality in check. Mungo Williamson wrote her on 7 October, 1686, telling her that 'shirriff was hear within this ten days And hes fyned Thrie of your Las tenants And hes some of them under processe yet ffor not keeping the charch According to Law And not baptizing ther chilldrine within the tyme ordained' and she made a note of this matter at

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459 Unknown Writer, 'Agreement between Lady Margaret HOpe, John Williamson, and Gilbert Watson 9 July, 1691.'

460 Unknown Writer [believed to be Mungo Williamson] to Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun, 27 June, 1691, letter, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/16, HHPT.

461 Mr. Charty Sinclar, 'Articles'; Unknown Writer to Lady Margaret Hope, 27 June, 1691.

462 Although this author personally considers this a draconoian system, it would be poor historiographic practice for the author of this thesis to insert her personal feelings and misgivings regarding Lady Margaret's business practices. The documents need to speak for themselves.

the bottom of the letter.[463] In a note of what was to be done following a bad harvest, Lady Margaret ordered Mungo Williamson 'to see to the restraining of drunkenness & to punish it according to his first instructions.'[464] Again, this was done in an effort to maintain order on the estate.

Such order was believed to bolster productivity and make rents be paid on time. With that in mind, though each rent of these tenancies would have been a good income for the average person in this period (between £10.6s.8s and £37 sterling), it would not have been nearly enough to support the lifestyle of one of Scotland's premier families. All of these rentals added up did make a much more significant and prosperous income. In the year between Martinmas, 1688 and Martinmas, 1689, the Barony of Hopetoun earned an impressive £5,530.13s.3d (approximately £460 sterling) through rentals alone.[465] The rent total then dropped to £4,627.1s.7d (approximately £385 sterling) by 1691, and remained at £4,627 per annum between 1694 and 1697.[466] Given the fact that the incomes of lairds ranged from £31 to £2,300 Scots in Angus in 1683, the total rental that came solely from the Barony of Hopetoun was impressive.[467] However, there were a number of harvest failures during these years. Adjustments had to be made in the moment. Indeed, the period of Martinmas, 1688 to Martinmas, 1689 appeared to have been a prosperous year with such a high rental rate. However, only twelve of the 21 listed tenants could make the rent payment for Whitsunday, 1689 (the winter season) because of bad harvests; the rent

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463 Mungo Williamson to Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun, 7 October, 1686, letter, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT.

464 Mungo Williamson, 'Record of what is to happen to Tennants following a bad harvest, 13 September 1689,' 13 September, 1689, harvest record, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT.

465 Unknown Writer, 'Charg Mungo Williamson his Intermission with the Rents of the Barrony of Hopetoun and Superioritie of the same for Ane year VIZ from Martimes 1688 to Martimes 1689,' 11 May, 1691, list of rent totals, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/16, HHPT.

466 Unknown Writer, 'Rentall of the Barrony off Hopetoune as it is Set att Whitsunday 1691,' 1691, list of rent totals, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/14, HHPT; Unknown Writer (Robert Scot?), 'Rentall of the Barronie of Hopton Robert Scott at Whitsunday 1691,' 10 June, 1697, list of rentals, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/17, HHPT.

467 Gifford, p. 14.

total amounted only to £918.9s.10d.[468] A list of tenants, including some of the ones mentioned above, collectively signed a letter that detailed the total losses incurred after the brutal winter of 1688.[469] Economic stability could be disrupted because of dearth or tenants' personal ailment.

Emergency precautions were instated September, 1689 following another poor harvest in order to keep morale and order in check.[470] The general agreement was that those who could pay would and those who could not would be given a waiver for the season (but they would have to make up for it at a later date).[471] Based on the fact that the total for that year was so high, it seems some tenants were able to make up for the challanges faced by their peers. By March, 1690, Lady Margaret and Archibald Hope agreed to continue to collect rent in this fashion.[472] It appears Lady Margaret tried to get the financial affairs of the barony's rentals in order the following August—even instructing Mungo to obtain two-years' rent for Shortcleugh and Letburn.[473] As was mentioned above, Lady Margaret managed to maintain the same rate despite bad harvests.

Collecting rents despite bad harvests put a great deal of strain on her tenants. Their desperation is reflected in another petition signed by them on 5 March, 1697. Because of the recent piteous state of harvests that left crops

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468 Unknown Writer, 'The Names off The Tenants That hes payt any of The Thrie termes Rent preceading Whitsunday 1689 And Lyke ways of these that hes payt None of the said thrie termes,' circa 1689, list of rent totals, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT.

469 Unknown Writer, 'Compt of the Loss sustained by the tenants in the barony iof Hopetoune In the latter end of the year 1688 & beginning of the year 1689 by the great stormes of snow or frost every town particularlie set down by it selfe of sheipe & Welt,' circa 1689, petition describing poor harvest, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT.

470 Mungo Williamson, 'Record of what is to happen to Tennants following a bad harvest, 13 September 1689'; Mungo Williamson, 'Report on what is to be done with the rents of tenants, 13 September, 1689,' 13 September, 1689, harvest record, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT.

471 *Ibid.*

472 Unknown Writer, 'Directions to Mungo Williamson for Collecting of Rent 8 March 1690,' 8 March, 1690, directions for rent collection, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT.

473 Unknown Writer (Lady Margaret Hope?), 'Lady Margaret's Instructions for Mungo Williamson 25 August 1690,' 25 August, 1690, instructions for the obtainment of overdue rent, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT.

'so evell that we have gote noe meat of it' and the subsequent skyrocketing prices of grain, tenants' rents continued to rise.[474] Although a miserable situation, Lady Margaret ultimately acted as a businesswoman and favoured her estate over her tenants' misery; not collecting rent led to a loss of (a portion of) the family's income and the possible eviction of tenants. This analysis establishes a clearer picture of the state of the Hopes finances in the decades leading up to Hopetoun's construction. Although this analysis has only included the Barony of Hopetoun, it can safely be assumed that the Hopes would have made a substantial income from land tenancies if the entirety of their holdings made similar profits. Since the Hopes were in the process of rising up the social ladder, purchasing more land was key. Although this source of income was large, their activities at Leadhills produced a higher income for the Hopes in this period.

b. Making Money through Leadhills

While it was wise for a family rising up the social ladder to invest in land and the expansion of its estate, tenancies played a comparatively minor role in enriching the Hope family compared to the mines at Leadhills during the second half of the seventeenth century. The Hopes sold their lead wholesale (either as smelted bar lead or lead ore) to intermediary parties. They also held a monopoly over the lead-mining industry until 1675 when the Duke of Queensberry capitalised on the mines at his property at Wanlockhead in Dumfries-shire.[475] Despite this competition, Wanlockhead and Leadhills thereafter accounted for at least 80% of the country's total lead-mining

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474 Unknown Writer, 'The humbell suplicatne of the whole tenants in the barony of Hopetoune to the right honourable Charles Hope of Hopetoune & his honourable Couratores owr masters humbly sheweth as followes,' 5 March, 1697, petition describing poor harvests, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/28, HHPT. Tenants and landlords alike depended on the precarious nature of crop prices. If they rose too high in a single given season because of bad harvests, then the average person could not afford to buy as much of it. This ultimately undercut the value of crops in a bad year. A bad year of crop sales also resulted in higher rents and costs of living to compensate for the rise in crop prices.

475 T.C. Smout, 'Chapter Five: Lead-mining in Scotland, 1650-1850,' from Peter L. Payne, ed., *Studies in Scottish Business History* (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1967): p. 104.

operations.[476] Much of Lady Margaret's attention was devoted to the lead-production industry and the commercial trade of lead.[477] In 1685, Lady Margaret was paid four guilders per hundred stone of smelted bar lead in exchange for 1,770 tons (or 163,800 stones or 2,620,800 pounds) of the metal to be delivered over four years (which amounted to a total of 65,520 guilders, £98,280 Scots or £8,190 sterling).[478] She received four guilders and nineteen stuivers per 100 pounds in exchange for 370 tons of bar lead in 1689 (which amounted to an astonishing 41,025 guilders 12 stuivers, £61,538.8s, or £5,128.4s).[479] In April, 1686, Lady Margaret, William Hope of Granton, and Archibald Hope signed a contract for the sale of lead with Mr. Robert Blackwood and John Watsone, two merchant burgesses in Edinburgh.[480] Blackwood and Watsone acted as intermediaries between Lady Margaret's party and the Rotterdam-based Cornelius Thomsone and Company [CTC].[481] This document outlines that, in exchange for the shipment of an unspecified amount of lead to Leith for transport to the CTC, Lady Margaret would receive 8,000 guilders (an amount the contract indicates was exchangeable to £12,000 Scots or £1,000 sterling) by 'the first of May next to come.'[482] In other words, Lady Margaret was to be paid that sum of money up front as a commission.

She was then to be paid another 8,000 guilders, with a bonus of 1,000 merks for every one hundred pounds of lead, by the following Whitsunday (2 June, 1686).[483] In just over one month, the Hopetoun estate was to earn £41,018.12s.6d through a single contract for the sale of lead ore.[484] This was

476 Smout, p. 105.
477 See Appendix B.
478 Unknown Writer (George Sherriff?) to Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun, letter, 1 January, 1728, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-42, HHPT.
479 *Ibid.*
480 John Scott, 'Contract between Lady Margaret Hope in name of Charles Hope, with advice and consent of Sir William Hope of Granton and Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, and Mr Robert Blackwood and John Gratsone, merchant burgesses in Edinburgh, for the sale of lead ore.'
481 *Ibid.*
482 *Ibid.*
483 *Ibid.*
484 John Scott, 'Contract'; Mr. Robert Blackwood and John Watson, 'Accomt Currant betwixt Lady Margaret Hope Lady Hopetoun and Mr Robert Blackwood And John Watson

quite a bit more than the rental income from agricultural tenancies of single estates! Though it is probable that this was not the only party with which Lady Margaret conducted business, it is impossible to say this definitively without further documentation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Leadhills mines were essential to making the family's fortune. The following April, Lady Margaret signed another contract with the same merchants, wherein she agreed to ship another 420 tons of lead to Leith (which would then be exported to the CTC in Rotterdam) in exchange for one thousand merks Scots for every one hundred pounds of lead sent.[485] In other words, this single transaction earned Lady Margaret £37,333.6s.8d Scots; she was also paid in advance an extra £4,966.18s.4d Scots.[486] She signed another contract in 1690 wherein she was to sell 3,350 tons of lead over six years in exchange 4 guilder and 6 stuivers per 100 pounds (this amounted to an astonishing 322,672 guilders, £484,008 Scots, or £40,334 sterling in six years); an addendum states that she agreed to sell 100 extra tons of lead yearly in exchange for a further 1,600 guilders (or £2,400 Scots, or £200) per year.[487]

By 1696, the value of lead was an impressive eighteen to 20 pence per stone and 55,494 stones of lead were transported to Leith for export in 1690 alone (which resulted in an earning of approximately £4624.10s Scots or £385.7s.6d sterling).[488] Leadhills produced approximately 333 tons of lead between 1690 and 1695.[489] Assuming that Leadhills consistently produced

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Mercahnts and Mr Robert Blackwood and John Watson,' 1686, account of payments, NRAS/888 Bundle 2779, HHPT. This income was considerably higher than tenancy rentals. See Appendix B.

485 Andrew Hog, writer, 'Contract between Lady Margaret Hope, in name of Charles Hope, with advice and consent of Sir William Hope of Kirklistoune and Mr. Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, and Mr. Robert Blackwood and John Watsone, merchant burgesses of Edinburgh, for the sale of lead ore.'

486 Mr. Robert Blackwood and John Watson, 'Compt Current Betwixt My Lady Hopetoun and Mr Robt Blackwood & John Watsone,' 1687, account of payments, NRAS/888 Bundle 2780, HHPT.

487 Unknown Writer (George Sherriff?) to Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun, letter, 1 January, 1728.

488 Robert Greirson to Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun, 10 January, 1696, letter, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/16, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Leid ore Book ffor Anno 1690, Brought in To Leith,' 1690, lead ore account book, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/8, HHPT.

489 Unknown Writer to Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun, circa 1695, letter, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/24, HHPT.

that vast amount of lead yearly, the Hopes could make a considerable profit from their mines when the market swung in their favour. Based on the available documentation, Lady Margaret was also very involved in the intricacies required to run the mines. Alex Greighorn wrote her on 21 January, 1696, informing her that he and William Garrioch had weighed the lead ore up for offer.[490] She was even sent a petition from the miners requesting their delayed payment, meaning she was at least in part responsible for workers' salaries.[491] Such involvement shows how seriously Lady Margaret took the mining business upon which the Hopetoun estate was so dependent.

c. Other Ventures (Diversification)

Leadhills clearly made the Hope family very prosperous during the second half of the seventeenth century. The Hopes' mining activities were most likely responsible for nulling John Hope's posthumous debts and growing the estate. This was not Lady Margaret's only commercial venture at the turn of the eighteenth-century, indicating that she understood the importance of diversifying investments. Charles Hope signed a contract, 'with the speciall [sic] advice & Consent of Lady Margaret Hope of Hoptoun his mother Curatrix *sine qua non*' and his other curators, with the Bank of Scotland in 1699. It outlines Charles's intention to invest the 30 thousand guilder profit he made from a sale of lead ore to Holland in the Bank of Scotland.[492] The contract also states that this investment would ultimately yield a return and profit over the following few years.[493] That this document deals with high-stakes, international trade and such large sums of money underscores the financial and commercial strength of the Hopetoun estate. However, as was aforementioned, Charles Hope was still in his minority; it

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490 Alex Greighorn to Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun, 21 January, 1696, letter, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/24, HHPT.

491 James and John MacMorians, James Bell, and Thomas Clerk to Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun, 'Petition by James and John MacMorians, James Bell, and Thomas Clerk to Lady Margaret Hope, n.d.,' n.d. [circa 1690s], petition, NRAS/888 Volume 195, Leadhills Papers, Class II/24, HHPT.

492 George Keith, 'Bank of Scotland contract.'

493 *Ibid.*

was up to his curators—particularly his mother—to help him manage his affairs. Not only would she have had to have been intricately involved in the family's Leadhills-based enterprise in the lead industry but also have been aware of Scotland's burgeoning banking businesses. It was her duty to safeguard the family's wealth and ensure prosperity for her son in adulthood.

There also survive three printed receipts from May, November, and December, 1699 that reveal that Charles Hope also invested heavily in the Company of Scotland (the Darien Scheme).[494] His investments enabled him to become a proprietor of the company. These very short documents do not indicate whether Lady Margaret had any part in making this investment. Nevertheless, it seems probable that she would have played a part in these transactions. The Darien scheme, of course, was and is notorious for bankrupting many of its investors. That the Hope family clearly survived this hurdle indicates that they had enough money to spare for such risky ventures and, more importantly, that they understood not to put all of their eggs in one basket, so to speak. Once again, it is clear that cautious diversification was an important principal to Lady Margaret and the Hope family. In addition to the basic fact that she was still Charles's curatrix, she was also heavily involved in the family's lead-mining business, the 1699 investment in the Bank of Scotland, and the strict maintenance of the Hopetoun estate.

The purpose of her diverse commercial interests can boil down to her desire to leave her son financially stable as he reached his majority. This also would have prepared him for his duty as heir, which was to further the improvement of the estate politically and economically. Because of 'the love and favour which I have and bear To [my son],' Lady Margaret signed over to Charles Hope £2000 Scots in 1697 that was actually guaranteed to her by

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494 Andrew Cockburn, 'Company of Scotland Receipt, May, 1699,' 19 May, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; Andrew Cockburn, 'Company of Scotland Receipt, November, 1699,' 26 November, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; Andrew Cockburn, 'Company of Scotland Receipt, December, 1699,' 13 December, 1699, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT. the May and December receipts were for £100 sterling investments, and the November receipt was for £17.10s

John Hope in case of his death.[495] After he married, she continued to provide him with financial aid: she gave him a total of £355.15s in five installments between December, 1699 and May, 1700.[496] Lady Margaret was not simply an ambitious woman: she was also meticulous in her administration and maintenance of the Hopetoun estate and all of its business ventures. The ultimate purpose for all this was socio-economic advancement. Motherly instincts and affection were undoubtedly further driving factors behind her desire for her son to do well in adulthood. This notion is also responsible for her commission of Hopetoun House, which was intended to cement the Hopes' aristocratic status.

Conclusion

Lady Margaret had the duty of maintaining, administrating, and improving the Hopetoun estate, while also preparing Charles for this role. Not only did she manage to settle an enormous number of debts established by John Hope, she continued to improve the wealth of the estate through the family's mines at Leadhills. That she diversified the family's holdings by investing in the Bank of Scotland and the Company of Scotland signifies her sophisticated grasp of Scotland's commercial and financial economies in this period. Her ambition and her devotion to the estate, her family's reputation, and her son's security culminated in her commission of Hopetoun House. Even if this study has revealed little about her actual personality, it has revealed that Hopetoun's commission, construction, and survival are the products of her regimented financial organisation. As one of the wealthiest women in Scotland, she hoped to construct a country house that would showcase the Hopes' increasingly prestigious status. One could view this

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495 John Hope, 'Provision by me to my wife of £2000 Scots, in case She have Children her own body to Succeed to my state & of £4000 Scots in case she have no children: This done in compensation of her being deprived by our Contract of marriage of any right She can pretend to ye third part of houshould furniture: Tyn 18 March 1674,' financial provision, 18 March, 1674, NRAS/888 Bundle 2778, HHPT; Andrew Garrioch, 'Assignation Be Lady Margaret Hope to Charles Hope of Hopetoune her son, 1697,' 5 June, 1697, record of financial transference, Bundle 2778, HHPT.

496 Charles Hope, 'Account of Lady Margaret's Payments,' December, 1699-May, 1700, financial account, Bundle 2780, HHPT.

house as Lady Margaret's preparation for her son's life as a Scottish gentleman and, eventually, nobleman.

As an accomplished financial administrator and manager, she did not walk into this project blindly, and could ensure that her money was wisely spent. She made sure, for example, to commission Scotland's most fashionable architect to design a house that would embody not just the Hopes' socio-economic and political rise, but also her own ambition, her prestige, and her accomplishment. Of course, this house was also to be the architectural representation of Charles Hope when he came of age. In short, Hopetoun House was Lady Margaret's ultimate test and achievement of her period as curatrix and tutrix *sine qua non.* She officially retired on 14 March, 1700 because of 'the condition of hir [sic] health,' which 'could nott allow hir to continue under the Charge and great fattigue [sic] of hir sons affairs.'[497] Lady Margaret 'desired yt they might be committed for the futter [sic] to some honest and carefull persone.'[498] Thomas Pringle ultimately took over the management of the estate (at least until Charles Hope came of age in 1702) with the occasional advice and influence of Lady Margaret. As the next chapter will explore, the financial health of the Hopetoun estate did not crumple once Lady Margaret passed the managerial torch.

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497 Unknown Writer (Thomas Pringle?), 'Formal Agreement of Lady Margaret's Retirement,' legal document, 14 March, 1700, NRAS/888 Volume 336, HHPT.

498 *Ibid.*

Chapter V: Financial Diversification at the Hopetoun Estate in the Eighteenth Century

As Charles Hope's guardian, Lady Margaret Hope maintained the Hopetoun estate's health and prosperity during the late seventeenth century. Once he turned 21 in 1702, Hopetoun officially became his responsibility—most likely with the continued advice and influence of his mother, Thomas Pringle (his factor), and his other curators. Although Lady Margaret's turn at the helm witnessed several failed attempts at Scottish colonisation of North America, domestic economic depression, and the Glorious Revolution, her son's tenure saw the War of the Spanish Succession, the Act of Union in 1707, the Hanoverian Succession, the First Jacobite Uprising in 1714, and the start of the War of the Austrian Succession. His son, John Hope (1704-1781) experienced the conclusion of the latter war, the Second Jacobite Uprising, the Seven Year War, and the War for American Independence while he managed the estate as the Second Earl. In short, the first two Earls of Hopetoun lived and worked in a Scotland (let alone Western Europe) that was drastically different from the one Lady Margaret knew. Although the eighteenth century was filled with conflict, it was also a period that experienced the growth and development of modern capitalism. Economic expansion was interlocked with the expansion of the British Empire as much as military conquest was.

While Scots had long traded internationally (particularly in Northern Europe), they used their economic ties with countries such as Denmark, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden to exploit trade in the Americas over the course of the seventeenth century.[499] This was the ideal means to avoid the trade restrictions put in place by the English Navigation Acts.[500] Since the Navigation Acts 'reduced Scots to the status of foreigners,' trade with English markets was made increasingly difficult as Scots' dependence on them

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499 Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union: Then and Now* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 7, 123-4.

500 Whatley, pp. 7, 123-4. Also, for more information on the English Navigation Acts, see: Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Group, 2001), pp. 258-9.

grew.[501] However, 'it was the prospect of free trade within the protected area of the English navigation acts that had drawn many Scots to union, including the plantations.'[502] As discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, Scots tried to improve their commercial economy independently. However, they were severely hampered by English monopolies and a series of economic crises. Union with England became increasingly attractive to economically ambitious Scots. Their overseas trading ventures surged after the Union in 1707 since those who wanted to trade in English markets were finally able to do so legally.[503] Being made officially part of the British Empire was paradoxically very helpful to Scottish economic success. Scotland also started trading in the stronger pound sterling (though the pound Scots was used at least into the 1780s, as evidenced by the many documents cited in this thesis). These were some of the consequences of an increasingly globalised Scotland.

However, globalism was obviously not a brand-new concept to Scots, and the Hopes themselves were well-seasoned in international trade and capitalist business ventures by the Restoration. The environment in which the family conducted business transformed over the course of the eighteenth century. The Hopes consequently had to find ways in which to maintain relevance in an increasingly competitive market. The Hopetoun estate's primary sources of income still came from the lead mines at Leadhills and agricultural rentals as they had at the end of the seventeenth century. The style of their development, management, and the manner in which they exploited their economic ventures changed greatly under the First and Second Earls' tenures in order to maximise profits; they diversified their investment practices for the same reason. This was the manner in which the Hopes made and maintained their fortunes. It is important to study how much money the Hopes made in this period for the same reason the previous chapter did with Lady Margaret. The First Earl commissioned William Adam

501 Whatley, p. 105.
502 Whatley, p. 389.
503 *Ibid.*

to renovate Hopetoun House extravagantly in 1721—not even 25 years after the construction of Hopetoun first began. Running a grandiose country house in it of itself was an expensive undertaking. Knowing roughly how much money the Hopes made reveals whether or not they could additionally afford such an exorbitant project or whether it was a typical case of aristocratic showmanship. The approximate cost of Hopetoun's construction (including the main house, service areas, and offices between 1699 and 1719) was £59,909.15s.1 2/3d Scots (just under £5,000 sterling).[504] As will come to be seen through mining and agricultural documents, they very well could afford the enterprise. That the eighteenth-century Earls continued Lady Margaret's legacy of meticulous administration and entrepreneurial spirit reveals that they saw themselves as businessmen as well as noblemen; their dual roles influenced their management style.

While the First and Second Earls are significant in that they dominated their estate during the eighteenth century—modernising and updating its efficiency and productivity—they were also the ones who were in charge of the main house's extravagant renovations. The First Earl first commissioned its expansion in 1721 and decoration to the interior of the house continued into the 1760s under the Second Earl. This is why their period is the main focus of this chapter. Even though this dissertation only explores the design and construction of Bruce's Hopetoun House, there are a few reasons why it is necessary to explore the Hopes' economic exploits from the rest of the eighteenth century in this chapter. Again, the simplest is that it can tell whether the First Earl could afford such expensive feats of patronage when Hopetoun House was still, essentially, a brand-new country house. As such patrons as Robert Walpole show, the construction of a country house was a very risky investment. Moreover, this chapter will uncover how the Hopetoun estate continued to develop and mature both economically and politically. As this chapter will show, Bruce's Hopetoun House was not built at the cusp of the Hopes' economic and political prestige. It is instead a mark of the family's

504 See Appendix H.

early years as high-status Scottish peers. The house and estate continued to evolve as their wealth and influence grew. Finally, it also shows that even though the Hopes became part of the upper echelons of the Scottish aristocracy, they continued to focus on their business activities rather than focussing solely on high politics.

The efforts of the First and Second Earls will be explored in two sections: the first will deal with lead mining and the second will examine their agricultural investments. What is significant about Leadhills is that it was increasingly leased to and managed by third parties over the course of the eighteenth century. In return for access to certain veins of the mines, companies would pay the earls a share of whatever was mined (and sometimes a cash advance, as well). While leasing out the mines took the strain of management off of the earls, they reaped the rewards of their renters' productivity. More importantly, it gave the Second Earl the opportunity to invest in other ventures—the chief of which was the modernisation and improvement of the estate's agricultural holdings. The second section will focus on the Baronies of Ormiston (East Lothian) and Hopetoun (Lanarkshire) during the third quarter of the eighteenth century due to the rich amount of documentation available on these regions. Relevant records include maps, rental accounts, and the aforementioned surveys. This chapter will ultimately demonstrate that Hopetoun House was not merely a statement of the Hopes' political advancement, but was also the product of business acumen. It was part of the enrichment of the local economy in the eighteenth century and represents the changes that occurred to Scottish estate management over the course of the eighteenth century.

I. Mining Leadhills in the Eighteenth Century

As it was during the second half of the seventeenth century, lead-mining was hugely important to the Hopes' increase in wealth throughout the eighteenth century. The fact that the manner in which the family profited from Leadhills changed dramatically during the eighteenth century is the overall

focus of this section. At the century's start, the Hopes were primarily responsible for the management of the mines. Lady Margaret and the First Earl were extremely involved in Leadhills' operations and dealt directly with their buyers (whether domestic or international ones).[505] A lucky letter to the First Earl lists nine contracts signed by the Hopes between 1685 to 1722 (the buyers themselves are not listed).[506] In 1705, the First Earl signed a contract wherein he agreed to sell 2,240 tons of lead over five years for 4 guilders and 6 stuivers per 100 pounds (which amounted to 215,756 guilders 16 stuivers, £323,635.4s Scots, or £26,969.12s sterling).[507] The Earl then received 37,500 guilders (or £56,250 Scots or £4,687.10s sterling) for another lead contract in 1709.[508] In 1714, he agreed to sell 2,000 tons of lead in exchange for 4 guilders and 1 stuiver per 100 pounds (this totalled 181,440 guilders, £272,160 Scots, or £22,680 sterling).[509] The contract for this transaction records that it was signed between the First Earl and Cornelius van der Pot and Company, based out of Rotterdam, Holland and Middleburgh, Zealand.[510] According to the document, the First Earl agreed to ship 2,000 tons of un-smelted lead ore ("potters' ore") to van der Pot in increments over five years (410 tons for the first year and 402 for the ensuing four years).[511] In return, van der Pot agreed to pay Lord Hopetoun an advance of 20,000 guilders (£30,000 Scots or £2,500 sterling) followed by the aforementioned 4 guilders and 1 Stuiver per 100 pounds of lead ore.[512] This was clearly an extremely profitable period for the Hopes' lead business! As the previous chapter discussed, the Hopes had been exporting their lead to Holland since

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505 It is possible that Lady Margaret continued to have a hand in the business after the 1st Earl reached his majority in 1702, her influence obviously ceased upon her death in 1711.

506 Unknown Writer (George Sherriff?) to Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun, letter, 1 January, 1728. See Appendix B.

507 *Ibid.*

508 *Ibid.* Note: this document was bound in a large book and the binding obscured the amount of lead the First Earl agreed to sell.

509 *Ibid.*

510 Unknown Writer (Hugh Dallas?), 'Articles off Agreement between Charles Earle of Hopetoune of that part of the Kingdom off Great Brittain Called Scotland of the one part and Cornelius van der Pot and Company of Rotterdam in Holland and off Middelburgh in Zealand Merchants of the other part,' business contract, 30 October, 1713, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-42, HHPT.

511 *Ibid.*

512 *Ibid.*

the seventeenth century. The First Earl understood the importance of this foreign market and continued to maintain an industrious relationship with his Dutch business ties.[513] This business relationship did not terminate at the end of this contract.

The aforementioned letter proceeds to list another two sales of lead from 1721 and 1722, although they suffered slightly from a downturn in the market. The price of lead had dropped further to 3 guilders and 18 stuivers per 100 pounds by 1721.[514] The value of lead rose back up to 4 guilders per 100 pounds the following year, in which the Earl signed a contract for the sale of 2,000 tons of lead (which totalled 179,200 guilders, £268,800 Scots, or £22,400 sterling).[515] The market for lead fluctuated, sometimes drastically so, from year to year and this affected how the First Earl could conduct business. George Sherriff, Lord Hopetoun's factor at the time, recorded that the buyers received 182 tons, 319 tons, 334½ tons, 355 tons, 344 tons, 306 tons, and 159½ tons during the seven years it took to complete that contract between 1722 and 1728.[516] The productivity of the lead mines adjusted to the value of lead: lower prices necessitated lower output; the spike in the amount of lead shipped correlates with a favourable market. The next contract to be signed in circa 1728 indicates that lead prices continued to swing in Lord Hopetoun's favour.

This one was signed between the First Earl and a new Dutchman: Jacob Coornhart and the Company of Rotterdam, Holland and Middleburgh, Zealand. Lord Hopetoun once again agreed to sell Coornhart 2,000 tons of lead ore in increments over the course of approximately six years (or sooner) in exchange for a 20,000 guilder (or £30,000 Scots or £2,500 sterling) advance for the first year of the contract and 4 Guilders and 6 Stuivers per 100 pounds of lead (for a total of 192,640 guilders, £288,960 Scots, or

513 Smout, p. 105, 107.
514 Unknown Writer (George Sherriff?) to Charles Hope, 1 January, 1728.
515 *Ibid.*
516 George Sherriff, 'List of Lead Ore Contracts taken from George Shirreff's Book, 1722-1738,' contract list, circa 1738, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-42, HHPT.

£24,080 sterling).[517] Lord Hopetoun managed to fulfil this contract in the demanded six years, shipping 266 tons, 353 tons, 426 tons, 432 tons, 400 tons, and 123 tons respectively between 1728 and 1733.[518] The situation only improved by the following contract, where Coornhart paid Lord Hopetoun 30,000 guilders (£45,000 Scots or £3,750 sterling) for the first 400 tons of lead ore and 4 Guilders and 6 Stuivers per 100 pounds of lead ore he received subsequently.[519] Between 1733 and 1738, the First Earl had the following amount of lead shipped each year, ultimately totalling 2,400 tons: 282 tons, 485 tons, 397 tons, 746 tons, 478 tons, and 12 tons.[520] This contract earned a total of 192,640 guilders, £288,960 Scots, or £24,080 sterling, in addition to the aforementioned commission. Earlier in 1733, Lord Hopetoun signed another three-year contract with Jacob Coornhart: the First Earl agreed to sell Coornhart a maximum of 200 tons of smelted lead bars per year in exchange for two shillings sterling for each unspecified unit of lead and £1000 sterling per year.[521] These were years of extreme productivity and prosperity for Lord Hopetoun's lead mines, producing thousands of tons of both potters' ore and smelted bar lead. Their industrious relationship continued for several more contracts.

Another contract signed September, 1738 stated that the First Earl would export 400 tons of lead per year to Coornhart's company over the course of five years.[522] In return, Coornhart was to pay 30,000 Guilders for

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517 Unknown Writer, 'Articles of Agreement betwixt Charles Earl of Hopetoun of yt part of ye Kingdom of Great Brittain called Schotland [sic], on ye one part, and Jacob Coornhart and Company of Rotterdam in Holland and of Middelburgh in Zealand merchants on ye other part,' business contract, circa 1722, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Class III-42, HHPT.

518 George Sherriff, 'List of Lead Ore Contracts.'

519 Jacob Coornhart & Co, 'Articles of Agreement betwixt Charles Earl of Hopetoun of that part of the Kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland on ye one part and Jacob Coornhart & Company of Rotterdam in Holland and of Middelburgh in Zealand, Merchants on ye Other Part,' business contract, 16 September and 21 September, 1733, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhillls Papers, Class III-42, HHPT.

520 George Sherriff, 'List of Lead Ore Contracts.'

521 John Thomson, 'Contract for the Sale of Lead Ore between Charles Hope, the 1st Earl of Hopetoun, and Jacob Coornhart & Co,' business contract, 23 December, 1732 and 8 January, 1733, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhillls Papers, Class III-47, HHPT.

522 Jacob Coornhart, 'Articles of Agreement betwixt Charles Earl of Hopetoun of that part of the Kingdom of Great Britain, called Scotland on the one part, And Jacob Coornhart & Company of Rotterdam in Holland and Middelburgh in Zealand merchants on the other part,'

the first 400 tons and 4 Guilders 2 Stuivers per each subsequent 100 pounds of potters' ore until they reached the 2,000-ton total (this amounted to an additional 183,680 guilders, £275,520 Scots, or £22,960 sterling).[523] Between 1739 and 1744, Leadhills delivered 430 tons, 394 tons, 423 tons, 255 tons, 425 tons, and 73 tons each year.[524] Although the First Earl did not manage to ship at least 400 tons every year, the other years of surplus still allowed the company to fulfil the contract in five years.[525] This partnership was renewed once more in 1744 and the Second Earl agreed to sell Coornhart 2,000 tons of potters' ore in five years.[526] Coornhart was again to pay 30,000 Guilders for the first 400 tons in 1745 and 4 Guilders and 2 Stuivers for every 100 pounds of lead ore thereafter.[527]

This was a longstanding and lucrative partnership that ultimately required extensive communication and travel between Holland and Scotland. One letter, from Jacob Coornhart in 1737, stands out in that it underscores that the First Earl was not entirely alone in managing the Leadhills enterprise. Coornhart informed the First Earl that he 'had the honour to wait ones [sic] again on' his wife, Henrietta Hope, who 'proposed me to take this year four hundred Tuns [sic] of Pottars [sic] Oar for the price of ye present Contract.'[528] Whether Lady Henrietta went to Holland with the express purpose of calling upon Coornhart is impossible to say. However, it is clear that she was travelling without the company of her husband and managed to come to a new agreement with Coornhart over the sale of lead. Not only does this show

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business contract, 17 and 30 September, 1738, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-3, HHPT.

523 *Ibid.*

524 Unknown Writer, 'Accompt Currt with the Dutch Company upon a Contract for 2000 Tuns Potter's Ore at 82 Gild p Tun to be deliver'd in five Years commencing Janry 1 1739, 2000 Tuns at 82 is 164000 Gild,' delivery record, circa 1744, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-3, HHPT.

525 *Ibid.*

526 Alexander Williamsone, 'Articles of Agreement betwixt The Rt Honble John Earl of Hopetoun of that part of the Kingdom of Great Brittain called Scotland on the one Part And Jacob Coornhart and Company of Rotterdam in Holland and Middelburgh in Zealand Merchants on the other Part,' business contract, 13 and 29 January, 1744, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-3, HHPT.

527 *Ibid.*

528 Jacob Coornhart to Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun, letter, 18 June, 1737, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-42, HHPT.

the trust the First Earl placed in his wife to carry out this transaction (and the relative freedom Scottish noblewomen enjoyed given the right circumnstances), it also underscores that both husband and wife took this enterprise seriously.

The Dutch company was essential to the prosperity of Leadhills, but it was not the only party with whom the First Earl conducted business; domestic trade also played an important role at Leadhills.[529] In 1722, he sold 858 smelted lead bars to the Duke of Roxburghe for £570 Scots.[530] Lord Hopetoun signed a seven-year contract with Robert Wightman and Company on 9 and 23 January, 1723, in which he agreed to sell 'all the Bar lead belonging to [him] now lying in store at his works at Hopetoun alias Leadhills.'[531] The First Earl was permitted to reserve 100 tons to complete a pre-existing contract with another Edinburgh merchant, James Marjoribanks.[532] Wightman agreed to pay £0.16s.3d Scots per stone of bar lead in return.[533] As the lawsuit that occurred between Lord Hopetoun and Wightman suggests, their business relationship did not end on a good note.[534] Although this years'-long, back-and-forth case is too complicated to explore in great detail here, it does show that Lord Hopetoun was subjected to the pressures of the market and the ire of his business rapports. His title gave him political clout but he had to be careful when dealing with Edinburgh's merchants. Luckily, this lawsuit did not do any long-term damage to his domestic trade in lead.

In November, 1729, the First Earl signed a three-year contract with four Edinburgh-based merchants: Robert Craig, James Dewar, George

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529 See Appendix B.

530 George Shirreff, 'George Shirreff's Accot from the first of January 1722 to the first of January 1723,' charge and discharge account, circa 1723, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-40, HHPT.

531 Unknown Writer, 'Regratt [sic] Contract Betwixt The Earle of Hopetoun and Robert Wightman &ca. 1729,' contract cancellation, 13 January, 1729, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-47, HHPT.

532 *Ibid.*

533 *Ibid.*

534 See CS101/181 and CS101/182 at National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.

Haliburton, and Mr. William Hog.[535] The contract states that the First Earl agreed to deliver 240 tonnes of smelted lead bars to the merchants per year while acknowledging his need to fulfil the previous contract with Robert Wightman and a pre-existing one with Jacob Coornhart.[536] Lord Hopetoun was also permitted to keep as much lead as he needed for personal use and was also 'at full liberty to sell or dispose upon the super plus [lead] at his pleasure.'[537] In return, the four merchants agreed to pay £1.3s.6d Scots per stone of bar lead and two hogsheads of French claret (or the equivalent of £18 sterling) per year of the contract (that amounted to a £39,400 Scots, or £3,290, per year).[538] Lord Hopetoun's domestic trade in lead remained lucrative. It should be kept in mind that domestic and international contracts were fulfiled at the same time. Although these are the only contracts that have been discovered pertaining to domestic trade in lead, Lord Hopetoun also profited from beginning to lease out sections of Leadhills to smaller, outside companies.[539]

The process of leasing out portions of Leadhills began slowly by giving just a few merchants access to the mines. The First Earl signed a contract in 1717 that leased part of Leadhills to John Campbell for fifteen years; this occurred while he still managed the mines' domestic and international business.[540] This was a first step towards relinquishing full control over the goings-on at Leadhills; it could not happen all at once. According to the contract, Campbell's primary goal was not to mine lead, but to 'search for winn [sic] and work out all and whatsomever Mettalls or Mineralls out of the said Veins which are of the colours of blue green yellow or white commonly called Copper Ore' and 'to search for work out and winn all gold which shall

535 William Hog, 'Contract of Lead Sale between the First Earl and Robert Craig, James Dewar, George Haliburton, Mr William Hog, merchants and baillies,' business contract, 18 and 26 November, 1729, NRAS/888, Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-47, HHPT.
536 *Ibid.*
537 *Ibid.*
538 *Ibid.*
539 Smout, pp. 113-20.
540 John Ramsay, 'Rent Agreement between Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun, and John Campbell,' lease contract, 20 December, 1717, NRAS/888 Volume 200, Leadhills Papers, Class III-48, HHPT.

be found.'[541] In return, Campbell agreed to pay the First Earl a considerable share of his bounty: Lord Hopetoun would receive one-fifth of all the copper ore that was mined per year; he was also to receive one-tenth of the mined gold for the first year and one-fifth every subsequent year thereafter.[542] This arrangement allowed the First Earl to profit from alternative metals in his mines without the risk and expense of prospecting for them. The contract also permitted Campbell to keep two-thirds of any and all lead (potters' and smelted) that had to be mined in the search for veins of copper and gold (one-third of that lead was another part of Campbell's payment to Lord Hopetoun).[543] In other words, even if Campbell never found any copper or gold, he and the First Earl could still profit from the mining and sale of lead. It was also agreed that Lord Hopetoun would be made a partner in this smaller company, meaning his name was still tied to Campbell's work.[544] Again, this was Lord Hopetoun's first step towards relaxing his grip on the family's personal management of Leadhills.

By 1731, at least three companies of merchants—the Scotch Mining Company, Mr. Richard Lowthian and Company, and Mr. Marjoribanks and Company—rented out portions of Leadhills. According to an account of bar lead smelted at Leadhills, their companies were very productive during the ten years between 1731 and 1740.[545] Indeed, the Scotch Mining Company smelted 52,218 bars total, Mr. Lowthian's Company smelted 77,237 bars, and Mr. Marjoribank's company smelted 10,083 bars; the First Earl himself smelted 14,686 in this period.[546] It should be noted that these companies used Lord Hopetoun's own smelting mill, which recalls the age-old custom of agricultural tenants having their grains ground at the laird's mill in return for a small fee and the building's maintenance.[547] The lead companies' permission

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541 *Ibid.*
542 *Ibid.*
543 *Ibid.*
544 *Ibid.*
545 See Appendix B.
546 Unknown Writer, 'Accompt of the Whole Bar Lead smelted at Leadhills by the Earl of Hoptoun & his Taxmen commencing Anno 1731 to Anno 1740 inclusive,' lead account, circa 1740, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT.
547 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life*, pp. 99-108; Whyte, pp. 66-7.

to use Lord Hopetoun's mill weas granted in their contracts. According to John Campbell's 1717 contract: 'the said John Campbell and his forsaids shall have from the said Earl and his forsaids the use of a smelting Miln and they can conveniently spare the same.'[548] Although these companies mined their portions of Leadhills independently of the First Earl's management, this arrangement still gave Lord Hopetoun some control over the mining operations.

The decision to lease out portions of Leadhills to Mr. Marjoribank's company, Mr. Lowthian's company, and the Scotch Mining Company was also profitable. Lord Hopetoun earned a one-seventh share tack duty from the Scotch Mining Company, a one-sixth share tack duty from Mr. Lowthian's company, and a one-seventh share tack duty from Mr. Marjoribanks's company.[549] These merchant companies all made £107,807.19s.5½d sterling between 1731 and 1740 from their mining activities and the First Earl subsequently earned a total share of £25,517.7s.5d.[550] Since the First Earl was still heavily involved in the management of Leadhills in this period, the third-party profits were made in addition to those from his own domestic and international trade in lead. Lord Hopetoun continued to profit from the productivity of third-party merchants at the end of his life in the early 1740s. In 1740, the three abovementioned companies paid Lord Hopetoun 1,282 bars as tack duty.[551] The following year, each company paid Lord Hopetoun a total of 2,612 bars.[552] In 1742, Mr Lowthian's company alone paid Lord

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548 John Ramsay, 'Rent Agreement between Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun, and John Campbell.'

549 *Ibid.*

550 Unknown Writer, 'Accompt of the Whole Bar Lead from 1731 to 1740'; Unknown Writer, 'Memorandum relating to the Acct of the Whole Lead smelted at Leadhills for 10 Years preceeding Janry 1 1741,' lead memorandum, circa 1741, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT.

551 Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of mesrs Marjoribanks & Compy Barrlead 1740,' lead account, circa 1740, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of Mr Lowthians Barr Lead for Anno 1740,' lead account, circa 1740, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of the Scotts Mines Compy Barr Lead for Anno 1740,' lead account, circa 1740, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT.

552 Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of Mesrs Marjoribanks & Companys Barlead 1741,' lead account, circa 1741, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Account, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of Mr Lowthians Barlead 1741,' lead account, circa

Hopetoun 3,686 bars.[553] There was a spike in productivity in 1743, which meant that the Second Earl received a total of 4,112 bars.[554] He was paid a further 4,494 bars in 1744.[555] While these documents do not state the monetary value of the three companies' tack duty, it is still clear the First and Second Earls earned a considerable amount from leasing out Leadhills.

There were more companies that leased portions of Leadhills during the Second Earl's tenure, too. The Second Earl signed a 31-year contract on 27 June and 10 August, 1751 that leased the veins of Glendorch in Crawford Parish within the Sherriffdom of Lanark to the Governor and Company (later to be known as the London (Quaker) Lead Company).[556] The Governor and Company, like John Campbell in 1717, were permitted to mine all 'Silver Coppar Tinn Lead Iron and all other Mines Mineralls and Mettals of Whatsoever Nature Kiend or Quality.'[557] However, they were not allowed to mine any gold they found by this point; this was reserved for the investment

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1741, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Account, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of the Scotts Mines Companys Barlead 1741,' lead account, circa 1741, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT.

553 Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of Mr. Lowthians Barlead 1742,' lead account, circa 1742, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of Mesrs Marjoribanks & Compys Barlead 1742,' lead account, circa 1742, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of the Scotts Mines Companys Barlead 1742,' lead account, circa 1742, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT.

554 Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of Mesrs Marjoribanks & Compys Barlead 1743,' lead account, circa 1743, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of the Scotts Mines Companys Bar Lead 1743,' lead account, circa 1743, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Stated Accompt of Mr Lowthians Barlead 1743,' lead account, circa 1743, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT.

555 Unknown Writer, 'Accompt of the Right Honble the Earl of Hopetouns Proper Barlead & Tack duty Received from the Tacksmen in Janry Febry & Mar 1744,' lead account, circa 1744, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Accompt of the Right Honble the Earl of Hopetouns Proper Barlead & Tack duty Received from the Tacksmen in Aprill May & June 1744,' lead account, circa 1744, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Accompt of the Right Honble the Earl of Hopetoun Proper Barlead & Tack duty Received from His Tackmen Jully Augst & Septr 1744,' lead account, circa 1744, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Accompot of the Right Honble the Earl of Hopetoun Proper Barlead And Tackduty Received from the tacksmen in Octr Novr & Decr 1744,' lead account, circa 1744, NRAS/888 Volume 201, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-2, HHPT.

556 Unknown Writer, 'Contract with the Governor & Company for Glendorch, 27 June and 10 August, 1751,' lead mining contract, 27 June and 10 August, 1751, NRAS/888 Volume 209, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-72, HHPT; Smout, p. 118.

557 Unknown Writer, 'Contract with Governor & Co for Glendorch.'

and management of the Second Earl.[558] The Governor and Company was granted full access to the lands surrounding the mines, which allowed them to make peat to fuel their smelting equipment.[559] At the same time, this freedom came with greater responsibility: instead of making use of Lord Hopetoun's smelting mill as these merchant companies had in previous decades, the company had to build its own.[560] The custom of using Lord Hopetoun's mill had phased out by the time this new contract was signed. This cements the fact that the First Earl remained active in the lead industry while renting out portions of Leadhills. In relinquishing further control, it appears that the Second Earl was less involved in the lead industry. Because he relinquished further control, he was sure to include particular clauses in the contract to protect his estate. The Governor and Company had to maintain healthy relationships with local farmers and other mining companies and was also responsible for any loss or damage that was incurred by their mining activities.[561] Furthermore, the Governor and Company was required to pay an advance of £1,500 sterling and a one-sixth share of the metals mined as tack duty each quarter.[562]

The Governor and Company signed another 31-year lease for a portion of the mines in the Barony of Hopetoun on 27 June and 10 August, 1751 from the Second Earl.[563] This contract was a renewed version of one the two parties had signed 18 December, 1736 and 31 March, 1737.[564] In other words, the Governor and Company had already established their Leadhills-based business relationship nearly fifteen years previously with the First Earl. However, that the Second Earl expanded the area to which the company had access in 1751 further underscores that he had handed over

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558 *Ibid.*

559 *Ibid.*

560 Unknown Writer, 'Contract with Governor & Co for Glendorch'; see the abovementioned lead-mining accounts from Mr. Marjoribanks, Mr. Lowthian, and the Scotch Mining Company.

561 *Ibid.*

562 *Ibid.*

563 Unknown Writer, 'Contract between John Hope, the Second Earl and the Governour & company, 27 June and 10 August, 1751 for Leadhills,' lead mining contract, NRAS/888 Volume 209, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-72, HHPT.

564 *Ibid.*

the management of a greater portion of the mines to third-party companies. Many of the clauses in this contract were the same as the one signed for the mines at Glendorch. The company was once again permitted to mine 'All & whatsomever Mines and Mineralls of Silver Copoper Tinn Lead Iron,' with the exception of any gold they found.[565] They were also charged with managing any damages to surrounding lands incurred by their mining activities and also building the equipment necessary to smelt lead ore into bars (this included making peat as fuel).[566]

Once again, the Governor and Company was responsible for maintaining good relationships with the local tenant farmers and for making the mines fully functional and independent. This contract included a clause stating that the Governor and Company was also to enjoy the Crown's tax exemption of Leadhills.[567] As discussed in the previous chapter, the Hopes long enjoyed special duties on Leadhills. They initially only had to pay 1,000 merks or one-tenth of their mined metals to the Duke of Lauderdale (and then the Third Earl of Lauderdale) from the 1660s to 1686. They paid the same amount to the Crown from 1706 (the exemption being renewed under George II in 1751 and George III in 1765).[568] The company's method of payment was complicated. The Second Earl was to receive a one-sixth share of the metals for one portion of the company's mines.[569] He was then to receive a one-seventh share of the metals for the other part of the mines until 1 January, 1768, after which he was to receive a one-sixth share.[570] These payments were to be made quarterly.[571] The Governor and Company was not the only third party with which the Second Earl conducted business.

In 1759, he signed a 31-year contract with Mr. Anthony Tissington of Alserton, Derbyshire and Company, leasing to him a significant portion of

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565 *Ibid.*
566 *Ibid.*
567 *Ibid.*
568 George III, 'Tacks of King's to John Hope Feb 1765.'
569 Unknown Writer, 'Contract between the Second Earl and Governor and Company for Leadhills.'
570 *Ibid.*
571 *Ibid.*

Leadhills.[572] As with the Governor and Company, Tissington and Company was permitted to mine 'all and whatsoever Mines and Minerals of whatever Nature kind or quality (excepting always Gold Mines and Gold soil which are hereby expressly excepted and reserved to the Earl and his foresaids to be wrought or otherwise disposed of by them as they shall think fit).'[573] The contract also proceeds to describe in detail the boundaries of Tissington's portion of Leadhills, which bordered the rented property of the Governor and Company, Mr. Richard Lowthian of Staffield and Company, Mr. George Clerk of Dumcrieff Esquire and Company, as well as the property of the Duke of Queensberry.[574] This contract therefore mentions four other merchant companies occupying Leadhills by name, and states that there were seven total (such as the Scotch Mining Company) occupying the area.[575] That Tissington's company agreed to construct the necessary mining and smelting materials—and make the peat to fuel the operation—as the Governor and Company did highlights the independence of these smaller mining companies.[576] They were no longer reliant on the Hopetoun estate to carry out their mining enterprises in full. At the same time, this placed greater pressure on these smaller companies while the Second Earl enjoyed the ideal of risk-free profit. Indeed, Tissington's company was to pay the Second Earl a one-sixth share of the metals they mined each quarter in return for the free use of their rented portion of Leadhills.[577] One more contract shows that the Second Earl continued to lease out Leadhills in this fashion until nearly the end of the eighteenth century.

The Second Earl signed a nineteen-year contract with Messrs. Alexander Shirreff and James Guthrie, both Edinburgh merchants, in 1768.[578]

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572 Unknown Writer, 'Contract between John Hope, the Second Earl of Hopetoun and Mr. Anthony Tissington & Company,' lead mining contract, circa 1759, NRAS/888 Volume 209, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-74, HHPT.

573 *Ibid.*

574 *Ibid.*

575 *Ibid.*

576 *Ibid.*

577 *Ibid.*

578 Unknown Writer, 'Tack Agreement between John Hope, the Second Earl of Hopetoun, and Messrs. Alexander Shirreff and James Guthrie,' lead mining contract, circa 1768, NRAS/888 Volume 209, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-74, HHPT.

These merchants followed in the footsteps of the aforementioned tenants in that they were permitted to mine and sell any metals that they could find, with the exception of gold, in their rented portion of Leadhills.[579] The contract also highlights the boundaries of their rented property, which bordered the lands belonging to Mr. Richard Lowthian and the Scotch Mining Company.[580] Shirreff and Guthrie agreed to construct the necessary mining and smelting equipment and make the peat necessary to fuel the machinery, as did the Governor and Company and Tissington's company.[581] Similarly, they were also responsible for the careful maintenance of good working relationships with the local tenant farmers and the neighbouring mining companies, as well as for any damages that occurred due to their operations.[582] Shirreff and Guthrie were to pay the Second Earl a one-sixth share of their profits as rent each quarter. Each of these contracts also included a stipulation of payment wherein the renting parties agreed to deepen the mines or pay a hefty fee.[583] In other words, they also were given the duty of exploring and surveying the mines to find new, rich veins for future use. After having examined these documents, it is now important to summarise why they are significant.

What is first immediately clear from this analysis is that the Hope family earned a considerable income from Leadhills over the course of the eighteenth century.[584] The First Earl initially managed the mines independently (with the help of factors and other managers) as a private business as his grandfather did when he first inherited them. Much of his business came from Dutch lead merchants, as well as from domestic sales. Even as early as 1717, however, the First Earl began leasing out portions of Leadhills to third party merchants. Lord Hopetoun found multiple ways to

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579 *Ibid.*
580 *Ibid.*
581 *Ibid.*
582 *Ibid.*
583 Unknown Writer, 'Contract between the Second Earl and Governor and Company for Glendorch'; Unknown Writer, 'Contract between the Second Earl and Governor and Company for Leadhills'; Unknown Writer, 'Contract between the Second Earl and Mr. Anthony Tissington'; Unknown Writer, 'Tack Agreement between the Second Earl and Messrs. Alexander Shirreff and James Guthrie.'
584 See Appendix B.

profit from the mines in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, records show that Leadhills was still by and large a family affair. Leadhills continued to play a significant role in boosting the Hopes' income as the eighteenth century progressed. The Dutch Lead Company (in the names of Cornelius van der Pot and Jacob Coornhart), for example, maintained its business relationship with the First Earl from the turn of the century into the 1740s. However, the way in which the mines at Leadhills were managed did begin to shift in earnest in the early 1730s, thereby changing the ways in which the Hopes profited from them. Contracts signed between the First Earl and John Campbell (1717) and the Governor and Company (1737)—as well as the production accounts of Mr. Lowthian and Company, Mr. Marjoribanks and Company, and the Scotch Mining Company—reflect that the First Earl initiated a transition of total and independent management to third-party administration. This subsequently became John Hope's primary business tactic after he inherited the title of Second Earl and the lead business upon his father's death in 1742.

This paper has examined at least seven mercantile companies that invested in Leadhills (the Scotch Mining Company, Mr. Marjoribanks and Company, Anthony Tissington and Company, Alexander Shirreff and James Guthrie, Richard Lowthian and Company, Governor and Company, and Mr. George Clerk of Dumcrieff and Company), though there may have been more. The Second Earl fractured Leadhills into small portions to be managed independently in exchange for a share (usually a one-sixth share) of the companies' profits. It should be noted that the Second Earl carried out business with Jacob Coornhart until circa 1750. Nonetheless, that the Second Earl slowly relinquished his personal control of the mines alleviated the pressure and risk of managing an enormous business and portion of the lead industry. At the same time, he still managed to profit from this new approach to management. The Second Earl adapted the lead industry to a changing Scotland that was enriched by the labour of small merchants.

However the mines were managed, the profits that both earls made from Leadhills during the eighteenth century is extremely relevant to any study of Hopetoun House. In addition to all the other costs that came with an aristocratic lifestyle, this diversification within the lead industry itself and its high profits were essential in funding the nearly continuous building project of Hopetoun House and the surrounding estate. The first stones of Bruce's design were laid in 1699 and work persisted during the first few decades of the eighteenth century. Construction on the house endured into the 1760s once William Adam began his renovations in 1721. In other words, the Hopes needed plenty of capital to be able to invest in a 60-year building project; the alternative was financial ruin. Leadhills was clearly a key source of revenue.

What is more, the Hope family also understood the value of their mines and the key role the lead industry played in advancing their wealth and status. Although her husband purchased the estate of Abercorn shortly before his death in 1682 (and Hopetoun House was ultimately built there), the title he took on for himself was Hopetoun—or Hope-toun. Even in 1729, Leadhills was familiarly referred to as Hopetoun.[585] In other words, this was the "toun" belonging to the Hopes. The honorific title chosen by Sir John Hope was therefore rooted in the mines that had and would continue to be the foundation of his family's good fortune. However, Leadhills was not the only source of income on which they relied. It is now time to explore the Hopes' agricultural investments.

II. The Hopetoun Estate and the Agricultural Revolution

This section aims to explore the role that agriculture played as a source of the Hopes' income during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. As the previous section examined, the Second Earl considerably reduced his personal involvement in the management of Leadhills. At the same time, the Second Earl, who became one of Scotland's great land improvers, invested

585 William Hog, 'Contract of Lead Sale between the First Earl and Robert Craig, James Dewar, George Haliburton, Mr William Hog, merchants and baillies.'

greatly in the improvement of the estate.[586] His uncle and aunt, the Sixth Earl and Countess of Haddington, were early improvers in the Lowlands.[587] Furthermore, Hopetoun House and Abercorn Parish were among Scotland's early improved estates. Some of the parks surrounding Hopetoun House were enclosed as early as 1700. These were the ones that 'Extended no farther east than the Thicket below the Kitchen Garden, and were bounded on the South, by the Wall of the Garden & that which was along by the foot of the sheep park to the Blue gate, and so north by the Church to the Shoar.'[588] In 1712, the 'park where the Quarrie lyes, with the Stone-Hill parks, sheep park, and south west or Blue gate park were all inclosed.'[589] Finally, 'most of the rest of the original parks, and also of the Stone hill parks, except the Sheep park, were broke up and plowed for some years' after being first laid down, about the Year 1720 &c Since which they have been mostly in grass except as will be afterwards observed.'[590] Lady Margaret and the First Earl were quick to begin modernising the new heart of their estate.

Based on this information, the Second Earl would have had first-hand knowledge of the benefits of modernisation. This section will focus mainly on the agricultural revenues of the Barony of Hopetoun (Leadhills area) and the Barony of Ormiston in East Lothian due to the rich amount of documentation available on these regions. Before launching into an analysis of the agricultural revenues of these areas, it is first important to analyse briefly how the improvements would have affected the landscape. Because of the documentation available on their profits during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, this section will also examine the maps of the Barony of Ormiston and the Barony of Hopetoun. John Adair drafted a map of East

586 Trustees of Hopetoun House Preservation Trust, *The Gardens of Hopetoun: a Story of Development and Change* (Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, UK: 1995), p. 35.
587 See Appendix A.
588 Unknown Writer, 'An Account of the Parks at Hopetoun-house &c from the first Inclosing there about the Year 1700 To: Memorandum relating to the Parks at Hopetounhouse,' landscaping account, circa 1763, NRAS/888 Volume 622, HHPT.
589 *Ibid.*
590 *Ibid.*

Lothian, including the Barony and Parish of Ormiston, in 1682 (*Figures 5.1* and *5.2*).[591]

(*Figure 5.1,* John Adair, 'East Lothian author Johanne Adair math: Anno 1682,' manuscript, 495x545mm, 1682, Adv.MS.70.2.11 (Adair 10), NLS)

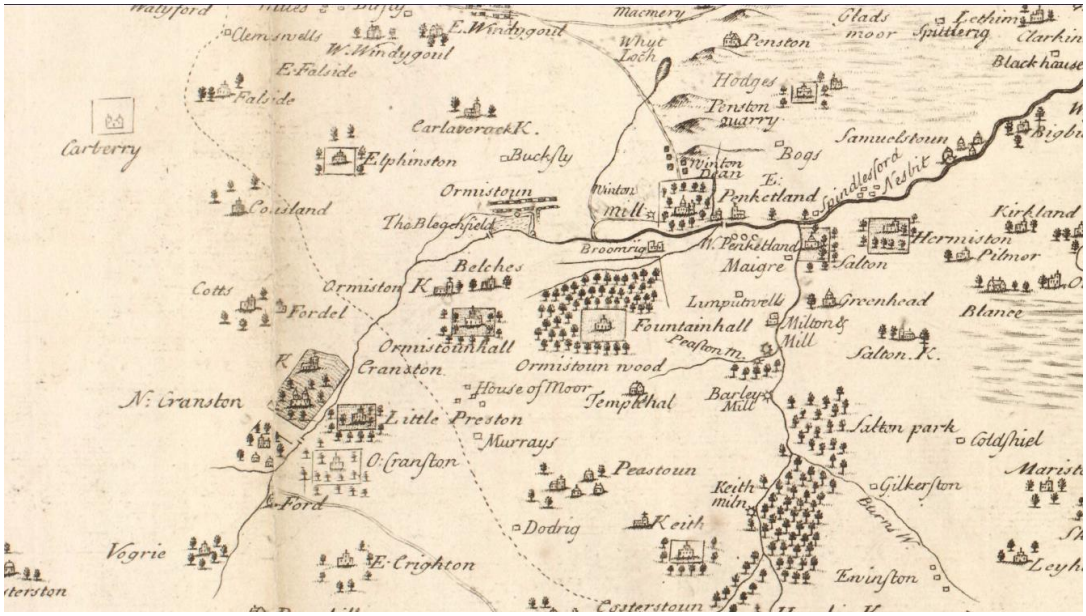
(*Figure 5.2,* John Adair, close-up of Ormiston and surrounding countryside in Map of East Lothian, 1682. The available documentation did not specify which fermtouns belonged to the Ormiston Estate. Ormiston Hall is circled in red)

591 John Adair, 'East Lothian author Johanne Adair math: Anno 1682,' screenshot, manuscript map, 495x545mm, 1682, Adv.MS.70.2.11 (Adair 10), NLS, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/rec/65 (accessed 20 April, 2017).

Adair carefully illustrated Ormiston. Country houses—such as Ormiston Hall and Winton Castle—were carefully drawn surrounded by gardens and parks. Although enclosed, these were not yet even and organised. The map also includes surrounding fermtouns (such as Peaston). The landscape of the region remains open without defined borders or fields in both maps; the reason for this is down to Adair's cartographic style. It should also be remembered from this thesis's literature review that pre-improvement agriculture was based on the runrig system (farms were communally shared and worked). Each fermtoun was split into the infield and outfield: the former was cultivated every year and was only revitalised once per year with animal dung; the latter was mainly used for pasturage. Ploughing was also uneven and poor because of outdated ploughs. Aside from his depiction of hills and other features of the region's topography, Adair's 1736 map of East Lothian was not very different from the one he draughted in 1682 (*Figures 5.3* and *5.4*).[592] Based on the uneven landscape enclosures surrounding the country houses, neither Adair map reflects the improvements that occurred to the region during the eighteenth century.

[592] John Adair, 'A Map of East Lothian, survey'd by Mr. J. Adair, F.R.S.,' screenshot, engraved map, 460x663mm, 1736, EMS.s.737(15), NLS, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/rec/202 (accessed 20 April, 2017). This map is likely republished from an early eighteenth-century version.

(*Figure 5.3,* John Adair, 'A Map of East Lothian, survey'd by Mr J: Adair F.R.S.,' engraved map, 460x663mm, 1736, EMS.s.737(15), NLS*)*



(*Figure 5.4,* John Adair, close-up of Ormiston in 'A Map of East Lothian,' 1736)

These changes are reflected in the individual fields of William Roy's map (*Figure 5.5*).[593] As recorded by Lord Belhaven, the key changes that

593 William Roy, 'East Lothian Map of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland with focus on the Barony of Ormiston,' map, size unknown, 1747-1755, screenshot, NLS, http://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/#zoom=14.001588808418001&lat=55.9036&lon=-2.9319&layers=4&b=1 (accessed 20 April, 2017); original can be found in Maps K.Top.48.25-1.a-f, British Library, London, UK.

were made to agriculture (particularly in East Lothian) were crop-rotation, enclosure, farm consolidation, and better fertilisation and liming practices. Not only did this restore fertility to an exhausted landscape, it also maximised a farm's productivity and profitability. By mid-century, at least, it appears that the Barony of Ormiston had experienced intensive enclosure and land consolidation. East Lothian was one of Scotland's first counties to experience agricultural improvements (with its greatest period of growth occurring between 1730 and 1790).[594] Ormiston's improvements were first spurred by the illustrious John Cockburn of Ormiston; the Second Earl did not purchase the barony in its entirety until 1747.[595] The Second Earl clearly did continue the initial improvements made by Cockburn. It is clear is that the income earned from this region was considerable during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

(*Figure 5.5,* William Roy, Screen shot of the Barony and Parish of Ormiston in East Lothian of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland, circa 1747-1755, map, size unknown, 1747-1755, screenshot, NLS)

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594 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 15; Whyte, p. 114.

595 Whyte, *Edinburgh & the Borders,* p. 121; Rev. Mr. Alexander Colvill, 'Number XXI: Parish of Ormistoun (County of East Lothian),' *Old Statistical Account [OSA],* volume 4, 1792, p. 171, *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 1791-1845,* University of Edinburgh, http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/viewer/osa-vol4-Parish_record_for_Ormiston_in_the_county_of_Haddington_in_volume_4_of_account_1/ (accessed 23 May, 2017).

A rental book of the Barony of Ormiston records yearly rental earnings from farm tenants starting in 1747 when the property was purchased.[596] It should be noted that payments were made in pounds sterling by this period. In 1747, a portion of Ormiston earned £482.1s.6d sterling.[597] Two years later, the entire Barony of Ormiston made £776.6s.6d sterling (over £9,312 Scots).[598] The barony's rent rose to £800.6s.6d in 1750 but was only £699.4s.9d in 1755.[599] Indeed, rental earnings rebounded to £719.10s.10d the following year.[600] With the addition of the barony's feu duties, the Second Earl made £723.18s.4d from Ormiston.[601] In 1759, the Second Earl earned £724.1s.10d sterling.[602] Although there were some fluctuations in profits from year to year (due to the precarious nature of agricultural profits), this was nevertheless a prosperous region. A 1756 memorandum highlights an important aspect of the modernisation of agriculture. One clause of the memorandum states that the tenants of Ormiston's ten farms were to pay cash for duties and services to the Earl rather than pay in kind through labour.[603] The Second Earl understood the importance of transitioning into a stable, cash-based economy rather than keeping on with the existing credit-dependent one. While this was important to the advancement and progression of Scotland's economy, it also better ensured Lord Hopetoun's financial stability and prosperity. The Barony of Ormiston helps to underscore the value the Second Earl placed in agriculture. The Barony of Hopetoun also

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596 See Appendix B.

597 Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, 'Rental of that part of the Barony of Ormistoun lying on the North Side of the Water of Tyne Cropt 1747,' rental account, 1747, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT.

598 Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, 'Rental of the whole Barony of Ormistoun Cropt 1749,' rental account, 1749, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT.

599 Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, 'Rental of the Barony of Ormistoun Cropt 1750,' rental account, 1750, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT; Unknown Writer [Archibald Hope of Rankeillor?], 'Alterations in the Rental Crop 1755,' rental account, 1755, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT.

600 Unknown Writer [Archibald Hope of Rankeillor?], 'Alterations in the Rental Crop 1756,' rental account, 1756, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT.

601 Unknown Writer [Archibald Hope of Rankeillor?], 'Rental of the Barony of Ormistoun Crop 1756,' rental account, 1756, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT.

602 Unknown Writer [Archibald Hope of Rankeillor?], 'Alterations in the Rental Crop 1759,' rental account, 1759, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT.

603 Unknown Writer, 'Memorandum Belonging to the Carriages or Services performable by the Tennants of the Barony of Ormiston,' barony memorandum, circa 1756, NRAS/888 Volume 222, HHPT.

provides some insight into the profits earned from farming (as well as Lord Hopetoun's investment in improvements).

The Barony of Hopetoun in Lanarkshire included the lead mines at Leadhills, as well as a number of the surrounding fermtouns and villages.[604] It should be noted that due to its size, the close-up view of the area surrounding Leadhills cannot capture the whole of the barony. Nevertheless, it is possible to see a few of the fermtouns surrounding Leadhills. John Adair's 1686 map of Lanarkshire depicts the local country houses capped with triangular flags and includes the region's rolling hills, rivers, and loch (*Figures 5.6* and *5.7*).[605] In other words, this map showcases the topography of the region in between the major landmarks and villages. In Roy's map of the area, he records clearly marked fields nestled in the hilly terrain (*Figure 5.8*).[606] However, they are few and very small; the topography dominates the map and it is still difficult to distinguish between farms.

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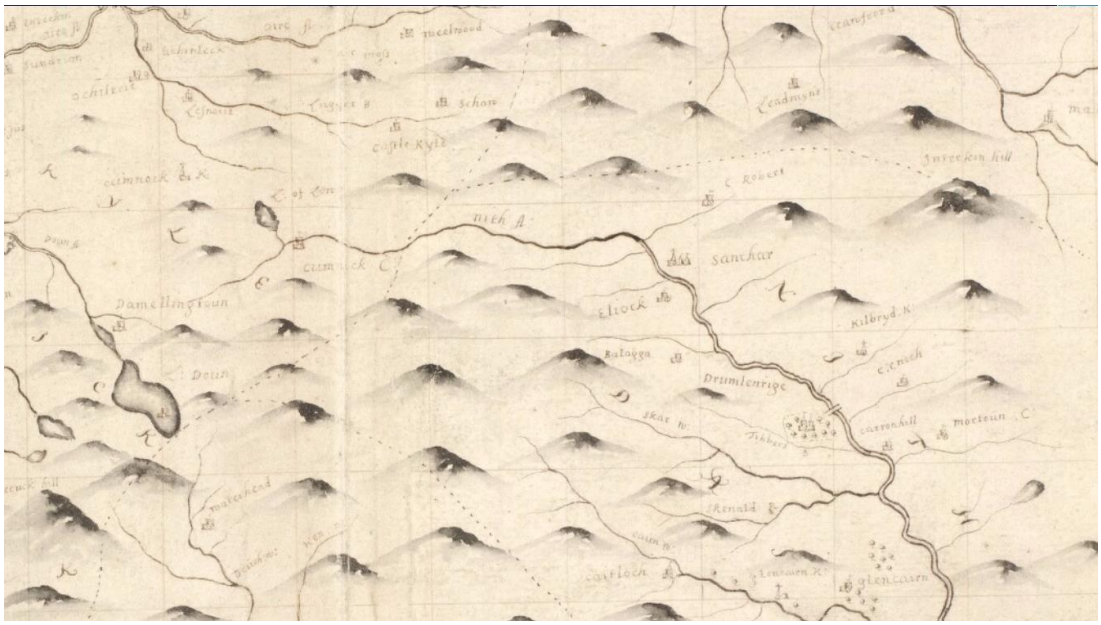
604 Unknown Writer, 'Rental of the Barony of Hopetoun from Wht 1754 to Wht 1755,' rental account, circa 1755, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT. The fermtouns and villages include Waterhead, Shortcleugh, Smithwood and Culm, Watermeetings, Netherfingland, Pedden, Glenochar, Slatecleugh, Glengeith, Ledburn, Glencaple, Glengonnar, Overfingland, Bachead, Minkholm, Mindonset, Glendorch.

605 John Adair, 'A mape of the west of Scotland containing Clydsdail, Nithsdail, Ranfrew, Shyre of Ayre, & Galloway/ authore Jo. Adair,' map, 495x545mm, circa 1685, Adv.MS.70.2.11(Adair 11), NLS, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/rec/71 (accessed 20 April, 2017).

606 William Roy, 'Lanarkshire Map of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland with focus on the Barony of Hopetoun,' map, size unknown, 1747-1755, screenshot, map, NLS, http://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/#zoom=13.846622248694214&lat=55.4335&lon=-3.7311&layers=4&b=1 (accessed 20 April, 2017).

(*Figure 5.6,* John Adair, 'A mape of the west of Scotland containing Clydsdail, Nithsdail, Ranfrew, Shyre of Ayre, & Gallowa/ authore Jo. Adair,' map, 495x545mm, circa 1685, Adv.MS.70.2.11(Adair 11), NLS)



(*Figure 5.7,* John Adair, close-up of countryside surrounding Leadhills in 'A mape of the west of Scotland containing Clydsdail, Nithsdail, Ranfrew, Shyre of Ayre, & Galloway/authore Jo. Adair,' map, size unknown, 1747-1755, screenshot, map, NLS)

(*Figure 5.8,* William Roy, screenshot of the Barony and Parish of Ormiston in East Lothian of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland, circa 1747-1755. The extensive Barony of Hopetoun contained the fermtouns of Waterhead, Glengonnar, Letburn, Glengeith, Glennochar, Pedwane, Watermeetings, Smithwood and Coume, Nethersingland, Slatecraig, and Shortcleugh. Letburn is circled in blue. Waterhead circled in green. Glengonnar circled in orange. Glencaple circled in yellow. Shortcleugh is circled in red. The other fermtouns that existed at the turn of the eighteenth century may have been enclosed by the period of Roy's survey)

This does not mean that improvements had not yet come to the region. What it does suggest is that arable farming was not the chief form of agriculture in this area during this period. This was the case at the end of the eighteenth century, as well. According to Rev. James Maconochnie in the *Old Statistical Account* in 1792: 'the greatest part of the parish consists of hills or moors. These are abundantly fit for pasture.'[607] This makes a comparison of the Barony of Hopetoun to the Barony of Ormiston difficult. Just because the barony did not experience arable improvements does not mean that it was not modernised. Local farms eventually commercialised and adopted sheep as the chief livestock.[608] Enclosure was essential to sheep

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607 Rev. Mr. James Maconochie, 'Number LXVI: Parish of Crawford, (County of Lanark),' *Old Statistical Account [OSA],* volume 4, 1792, p. 506, *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 1791-1845,* University of Edinburgh, http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/viewer/osa-vol4-Parish_record_for_Crawford_in_the_county_of_Lanark_in_volume_4_of_account_1/ (accessed 23 May, 2017).

608 Rev. Maconochie, *OSA,* volume 4, p. 508; Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 173.

farming, as well.[609] Furthermore, according to a 2014 case study of Lowland farms, Smithwood (which was part of the Barony of Hopetoun) contained a number of bastel houses occupied by tenant farmers that had been built in the early seventeenth century to protect tenants against raiders.[610] The article also states that Smithwood tenants had already begun paying their rent in cash rather than in kind by the mid-eighteenth century.[611] Agricultural improvement therefore helped to maximise the profits of a region that had, based on the previous chapter's analysis, already enjoyed prosperity in the seventeenth century.

Records also tell modern readers exactly how much money the farms in the Barony of Hopetoun made for the Second Earl during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.[612] The rent total for the year between Whitsunday, 1754 and Whitsunday, 1755 was £455.11s.8d sterling.[613] With the addition of tack duty, the total income for the region was £510.9s.2d (at over £6,120 Scots, this certainly was an increase from Lady Margaret's period).[614] This total agricultural revenue (including rents and tacks) jumped to £560.11s.8d the following year, though the amount earned from rents stayed the same.[615] The rents from the Barony of Hopetoun rose to £462.8s.10d from the year between Whitsunday, 1756 and Whitsunday, 1757; with the addition of a £133.6s.8d tack duty, the Second Earl earned a total of £595.15s.6d from this property.[616] In 1758, the region's farms did not pay a tack duty, so the

609 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 173.

610 Eric Schweickart, 'Ideologies of Consumption: Colonialism and the Commodification of Goods in 18th-Century Virginian and Lowland Scottish Rural Households,' *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 48, no. 2 (2014): p. 402, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1179/0079423614Z.00000000063.

611 *Ibid.*

612 See Appendix B.

613 Unknown Writer, 'Rental of the Barony of Hopetoun from Wht 1754 to Wht 1755.'

614 Alexander Shirreff, 'Acct between The Right Honble John Earl of Hopetoun and Alexander Shirreff his Factor of his Intromissions with the Rents of the BARONY of HOPETOUN alias LEADHILLS from Wht 1754 to Wht 1755,' agricultural account, circa 1755, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT.

615 Alexander Shirreff, 'Accot 'twixt The Right Honble John Earl of Hopetoun and Alexander Shirreff the Factor of the Intromissions with the Rents of the BARONY of HOPETOUN alias Leadhills from Wht 1755 to Wht 1756,' agricultural account, circa 1756, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT.

616 Unknown Writer, 'Alterations in the Rental,' agricultural account, circa 1757, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT; Alexander Shirreff, 'Acct 'twixt The Right Honble John Earl of

Second Earl's income from the Barony of Hopetoun remained at £462.11s.11d.[617] For the year between Whitsunday, 1761 and Whitsunday, 1762, the Barony of Hopetoun made an income of £568.[618] This was due to the fact that, in addition to £467.19s.9d in rents, the Earl was owed £100 in moieties for new tack agreements.[619] These earnings spiked to £780.15s.6d in 1767 and £810.15s.6d in 1768 for the same reasons, though rent totals had also increased by several hundred pounds.[620] The income earned from the Barony of Hopetoun experienced growth during the 1770s (with some fluctuation). By the year of his death, the Second Earl earned £817.5s.5 7/12d from this property.[621] Although the rise in income was slow over century between Lady Margaret's and the Second Earl's tenures, this was nevertheless a prosperous barony that surely benefited from the Second Earl's endeavours at modernisation and improvement. Although this section has only touched upon the profits made by just two of the Hopetoun estate's baronies, it is clear that the Hopes had long enjoyed steady profits from agricultural rentals. They also made sure to expand their landholdings

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Hopetoun and Alexr Shirreff his Factor of his Intromissions with the Rents of the Barony of Hopetoun alias Leadhills and Lands of Glendorch, from Wht 1756 to Wht 1757,' agricultural account, circa 1757, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT.

617 Alexander Shirreff, 'Accot between The Rights Honble John Earl of Hopetoun and Alexr Shireff of his Intromissions with the Rents of the BARONY OF HOPETOUN alias Leadhills and Lands of Glendorch from Whit 1757 to Whit 1758,' agricultural account, circa 1758, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT.

618 Alexander Shirreff, 'Accot between The Rights Honble John Earl of Hopetoun Alexr Shirreff his Factor of his Intromissions with the Rents of the Barony of HOPETOUN alias LEADHILLS And the LANDS of GLENDORCH from Wht 1761 to wht 1762,' agricultural account, circa 1762, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT.

619 *Ibid.*

620 Alexander Shirref, 'Accot between The Rights Honble John Earl of Hopetoun Alexr Shirreff his Factor of his Intromissions with the Rents of the Barony of HOPETOUN alias LEADHILLS And the LANDS of GLENDORCH from Wht 1766 to Wht 1767,' agricultural account, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT; Alexander Shirreff, 'Accot between The Rights Honble John Earl of Hopetoun Alexr Shirreff his Factor of his Intromissions with the Rents of the Barony of HOPETOUN alias LEADHILLS And the LANDS of GLENDORCH from Wht 1767 to Wht 1768,' agricultural account, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT.

621 Alexander Williamson, 'Accot Between The Right Honble James Earl of Hopetoun &ca Eldest Son and Sole Executor of the deceast John Earl of Hopetoun who died 12th Febry 1781, and Alexander Williamson his Factor of his Intromissions with the Rents of the Barony of Hopetoun alias Leadhills and Lands of Glendorch from Wht 1780 to Wht 1781,' agricultural account, circa 1781, NRAS/888 Volume 616, HHPT.

whenever the opportunity presented itself. The Second Earl, for example, purchased the estate of Ingliston in 1749, in addition to Ormiston in 1747.[622]

The mines of Leadhills were therefore not the only avenue of investment that preoccupied the First and Second Earls of Hopetoun during the eighteenth century. The Second Earl particularly understood the importance of agricultural improvement to the prosperity of his estate. These changes are evidenced by the accounts recording the increased incomes the estates earned from tenancy rentals, as well as by maps of the region. The prosperity of the Hopetoun estate as a whole did not cease in the years immediately following the death of the Second Earl. For example, the half-year's rent received by the Third Earl in May, 1782 was £333 sterling; the other half paid in November, 1782 was £434.7s.7d (for a total of £767.7s.7d, or over £9,204 Scots).[623] Based on these rental accounts, the estate's agricultural income remained steady during the transition between the Second Earl's and Third Earl's tenures.[624]

The study of the agricultural endeavours of the First and Second Earls of Hopetoun is more than simply exploring another source of their income. This brief financial analysis has also given insight into the manner in which the earls organised and managed their estate. By mid-century, the focus had shifted away from the mines of Leadhills (which were now managed by numerous third-party companies) towards the consolidation and modernisation of their old-fashioned tenancies. This new venture of agricultural improvement was carried out in an effort to maximise agricultural profits and was applied to both pastoral and arable farming. The Baronies of Hopetoun and Ormiston (representing the two main types of farming) were prosperous; tenancies in the Barony of Hopetoun certainly increased in value thanks to agricultural improvement. The Second (and possibly the First Earl)

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622 For matters relating to the Second Earl's purchase of Ingliston, see CS217/55, NRS.

623 Unknown Writer, 'Note of Rents of the Barony of Hopetoun Recd May 1782,' rental account, circa 1782, NRAS/888 Volume 209, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-77, HHPT; Unknown Writer, 'Note of Rents of the barony of Hopetoun received Novr 1782,' rental account, circa 1782, NRAS/888 Volume 209, Leadhills Papers, Class IV-77, HHPT.

624 See Appendix C.

necessarily had to be very hands-on in the management of the agricultural sectors of the estate and he saw these farms as the backbone of their estate as much as their lead mines were. Although the Earls of Hopetoun were noblemen, the commercialisation and improvement of their estate underscores that entrepreneurialism remained essential. This perhaps explains why the First and Second Earls were not very active in national politics (beyond serving the requisite terms in the House of Lords) and were more interested in local politics. A new understanding of Hopetoun House has been developed as a consequence of the above analysis of Leadhills and the Hopetoun estate.

Conclusion

This chapter has certainly uncovered the significance of the Hopetoun estate in the context of eighteenth-century Scottish economics. More research needs to be done to create a more comprehensive overview of the profits and evolution in management of Leadhills. Since this chapter only examined two baronies of the Hopetoun estate, more can also be done to study the effect that improvement had on the Hopes landholdings as a whole. Even with the comparatively small portion of documentation used in this chapter and the previous one, both have nevertheless illustrated the high value of the Hopetoun estate.

The Hopes would have had no problem at all funding Hopetoun House—despite how expensive a project it was. The entrepreneurial spirit of the earls discussed in this chapter consequently changes the way in which Hopetoun House should be interpreted. It was dually the country seat of a newly minted noble family and the country seat of one of the wealthiest families in Scotland. They understood that their immense wealth was what was responsible for being granted their noble title and did not have the same privilege of ancient, pre-Restoration aristocrats: their status was reliant on the maintenance of their affluence rather than on their blood and good name alone. Hopetoun House should, indeed, be seen as a symbol of their “arrival”

into the Scots peerage as it long has been. However, it should also be seen as the country seat of sharp businessmen. Their industrialism is reflected in the layout and organisation of the landscape surrounding Hopetoun House.

Chapter VI: Hopetoun House's Agricultural Office Houses

Introduction

The estate surrounding Hopetoun House, like the family's other landholdings, was arranged to support agricultural activities. Although no data could be found relating to the exact income of the Abercorn estate, this was yet another source of income. Not only did agricultural activities include the growth and processing of grains, but also the rearing of livestock (for meat, dairy, and labour) and poultry (for meat and eggs). In turn, this meant that a huge portion of the Abercorn estate would have been preoccupied with these activities. This chapter will explore this notion in three sections. The first section will try and gauge how the landscape was planned around Hopetoun House by studying William Adam's estate map, John Adair's maps of West Lothian from 1684 and 1703, as well as William Roy's military survey of West Lothian from the mid-eighteenth century.[625] Although some of Hopetoun's parks were composed of formally designed gardens and vistas, most of them were devoted to agriculture. A mid-eighteenth-century memorandum (cited in the previous chapter) regarding the stages of the enclosure of Hopetoun House's parks is additionally a key source of information because it provides the specific names of the fields that were enclosed and the years in which these events transpired.[626]

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625 William Adam, 'Plan of the Hopetoun Estate,' circa 1721-1748, estate plan, RHP 6800, HHPT, photograph taken courtesy of John Glynn; John Adair, 'Mappe of Wast Lothian comonly called Linlithgowshire/authore Johanne Adair,' map, 488x592mm, 1684, screenshot, Adv.MS.70.2.11 (Adair 8), NLS, http://maps.nls.uk/counties/rec/75 (accessed 20 April, 2017); John Adair, 'Hand-Drawn Map of West Lothian,' *The description of the sea-coast and islands of Scotland, with large and exact maps, for use of seam* (Edinburgh: s.n., 1703), Special Collections Mu3.-5, Special Collections Library, University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow, UK; John Adair, 'A Map of West Lothian survey'd by Mr. J. Adair F.R.S.,' *The description of the sea-coast and islands of Scotland, with large and exact maps, for use of seam* (Edinburgh: s.n., 1703), Special Collections Mu3.-5, Special Collections Library, University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow, UK; William Roy, 'West Lothian Map of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland,' size unknown, 1747-1755, screenshot, map, NLS, http://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/#zoom=13&lat=55.9836&lon=-3.4810&layers=4&b=1 (original can be found in Maps K.Top.48.25-1.a-f, British Library, London, UK).

626 Unknown Writer, 'An Account of the Parks at Hopetoun-house &c from the first Inclosing there about the Year 1700 To: Memorandum relating to the Parks at Hopetounhouse.'

The next two sections will focus specifically on the agricultural office houses that were present at Hopetoun House. The second section will be broken into five sub-sections in order to examine the following office houses relating to animals: the byre and cow park; the pigsty; the hen house; the dovecote; and the slaughter house and the dung court. Although hunting was an important activity on the estate, these offices reflect the fact that the household's main source of animal-based sustenance was domestically raised. Finally, the third section will be broken into two sub-sections in order to explore the following agricultural office houses relating to grain: the barn and the girnel (granary). Not only were the grains grown on the Abercorn estate a boost to the Hopes' income, they were key to the household's daily diet. In addition to bread, grains were the base for their beer and whisky. It is difficult to determine exactly how many of these parks were cultivated without the proper documentation. As such, it is impossible to determine the revenue earned from grain cultivation at Abercorn and how much was reserved for personal use. Nevertheless, Hopetoun had the necessary space and resources to carry out grain processing. Hopetoun's building accounts are indispensable resources to this chapter. Secondary research has also been key to understanding how Hopetoun House fit into the contemporary context of British agricultural and dietary history.

I. Exploring Hopetoun House as an Agricultural Enterprise through Eighteenth-Century Maps

Exploring the ways in which Hopetoun House was depicted in maps from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can help piece together how the parkland surrounding the main house was organised. As the country seat of an increasingly prestigious family, Hopetoun House inevitably shaped the surrounding landscape. Cartographers were quick to acknowledge the importance of Hopetoun House. John Adair's 1684 map of West Lothian shows the key country houses in the area surrounding Abercorn (*Figures 6.1* and *6.2*).[627] 'Abercorn' is scratched out and replaced

[627] Adair, 'Mappe of Wast Lothian comonly called Linlithgowshire/authore Johanne Adair.'

by ‘Hopton H’ and a square in red ink. The most logical explanation is that this was added in at some point after 1699 once construction of Hopetoun House began. Meanwhile, the other houses included here (House of the Binns, Midhope, and Blackness Castle being the largest) are shown as small, flag-topped buildings surrounded by gardens and enclosed by walls. Small clusters of trees and place-name labels signified forests, fermtouns, and villages. It is highly likely that the fermtouns had not yet been enclosed and therefore had less-defined borders than their post-improvement counter-parts. According to Alexander Fenton:

> ‘the enclosing of estates, farms and fields, completely changed the appearance of the landscape in the course of the eighteenth century, in a manner so general and so sweeping in all parts except the Highlands, that little trace has remained on the ground of what went before, apart from the long unused fields of ridge-and-furrow at higher levels.’[628]

As the 1680s farming contracts for the Barony of Hopetoun (Leadhills) from the third chapter show, those fermtouns surrounding Hopetoun House would have still been managed collectively by tenants and subtenants in the 1680s using centuries’-old agricultural techniques and organisation.[629] This meant that the countryside must have been open and continuous rather than segmented by walls and hedges.

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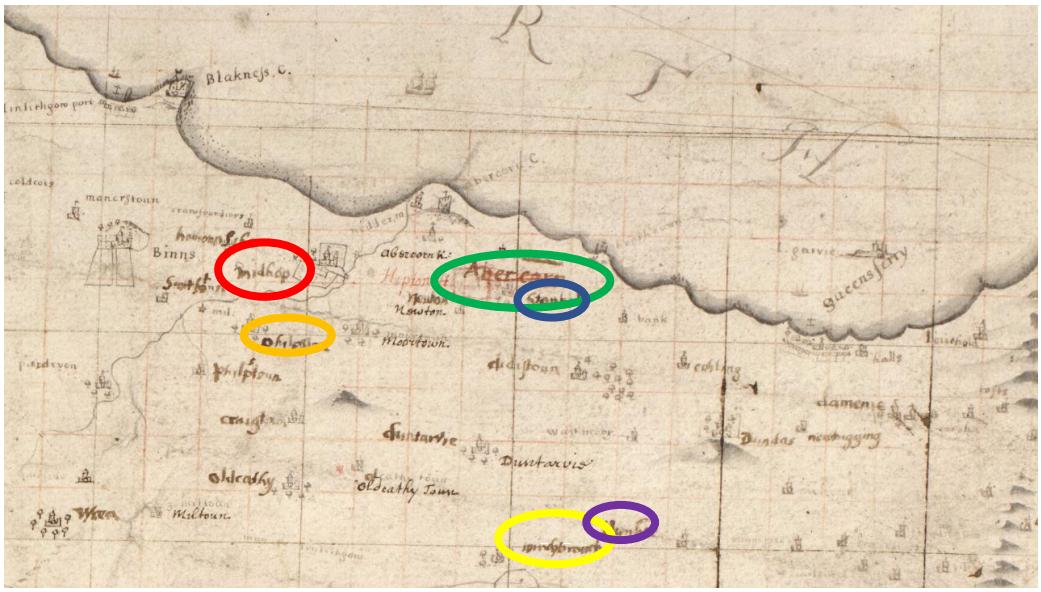
628 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life*, p. 16.

629 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life*, p. 36; Schweickart, p. 401; Dixon, Fenton and Veitch, eds., pp. 87-90. For more information regarding pre-improvement agriculture, see chapter three, pp. 10-11, and chapter four, pp. 18-19, of this dissertation.

(*Figure 6.1,* John Adair, 'Mappe of Wast Lothian comonly called Linlithgowshire/authore Johanne Adair,' map, 488x592mm, 1684, screenshot, Adv.MS.70.2.11 (Adair 8), NLS)



(*Figure 6.2,* John Adair, Close-up of Map of West Lothian, 1684. The fermtouns that definitely belonged to the Abercorn estate were Midhope (red), Abercorn (green), Stonehill (blue), Philipstoun (orange), Humbie (purple), and Winchburgh (yellow))

The enclosure of centuries'-old communal farming spaces into single farmsteads in the following decades reshaped the countryside.[630] Agricultural improvement was not just an update in farming tools and technologies: it

630 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life*, p. 42.

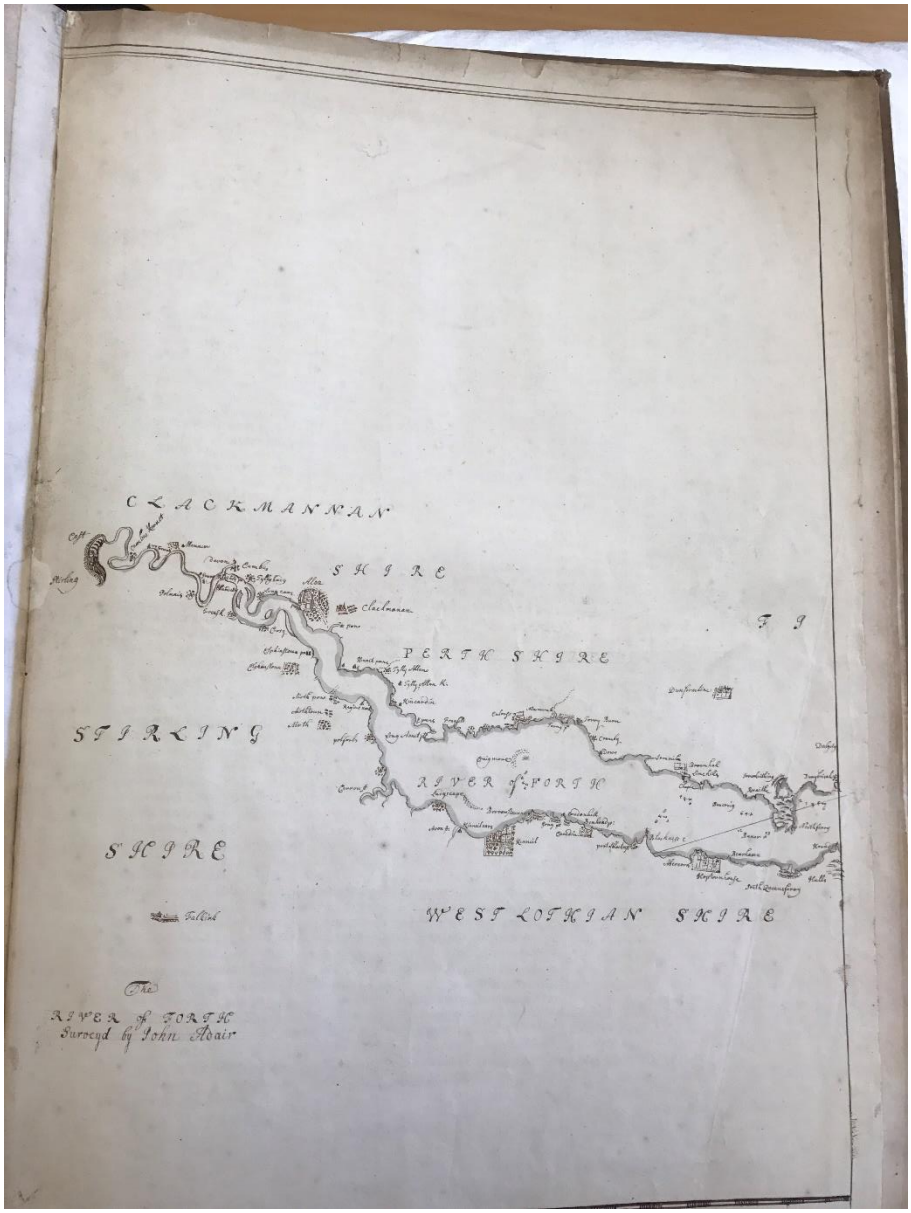
required a complete overhaul of the landscape and agricultural methods.[631] However, this had not yet occurred when Adair draughted this map in 1684. Adair later updated his cartographic depiction of West Lothian in 1703 in two maps, which were both published in *The description of the sea-coast and islands of Scotland*. The first one of interest is a hand-drawn map at the back of the book (*Figures 6.3* and *6.4*).[632] Hopetoun House is represented in this map as a small square against the banks of the River Forth. Adair depicted a small edifice surrounded by gardens inside the square (the walls of the country house) as he had in his 1684 map. He does not focus on the landscape surrounding Hopetoun House. However, an engraved map in the same book does: Adair depicts the fields around Hopetoun House as loosely enclosed. (*Figures 6.5* and *6.6*).[633] The map also includes the names of all the regional fermtouns and villages. Even if the surrounding fermtouns had yet to be enclosed (which is likely), the initial steps had begun at Hopetoun House proper by 1703, according to this map. This was a familiar pattern among contemporary Scottish lairds. A landowner would initially use his or her own country seat to experiment with something as risky as agricultural improvement rather than risk losing tenants' rent.[634]

631 There is not enough space here to venture into the Agricultural Revolution in eighteenth-century Scotland in any great detail. For more information on this subject, see: Alexander Fenton, *Scottish Country Life* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1976); Alexander Fenton and Kenneth Veitch, eds., *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology* (Edinburgh: John Donald, an Imprint of Birlinn Ltd, in association with the European Ethnological Research Centre, 2011); Ian Whyte, *Edinburgh & the Borders: Landscape Heritage* (Newton Abbot, Devon: Charles & David, 1990); Fredrik Albritoon Jonsson, 'Scottish Tobacco and Rhubarb: The Natural Order of Civil Cameralism in the Scottish Enlightenment,' *Eighteenth Century Studies* 49, no. 2 (2016): pp. 129-47, http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/docview/1776605343?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:primo&accountid=10673.

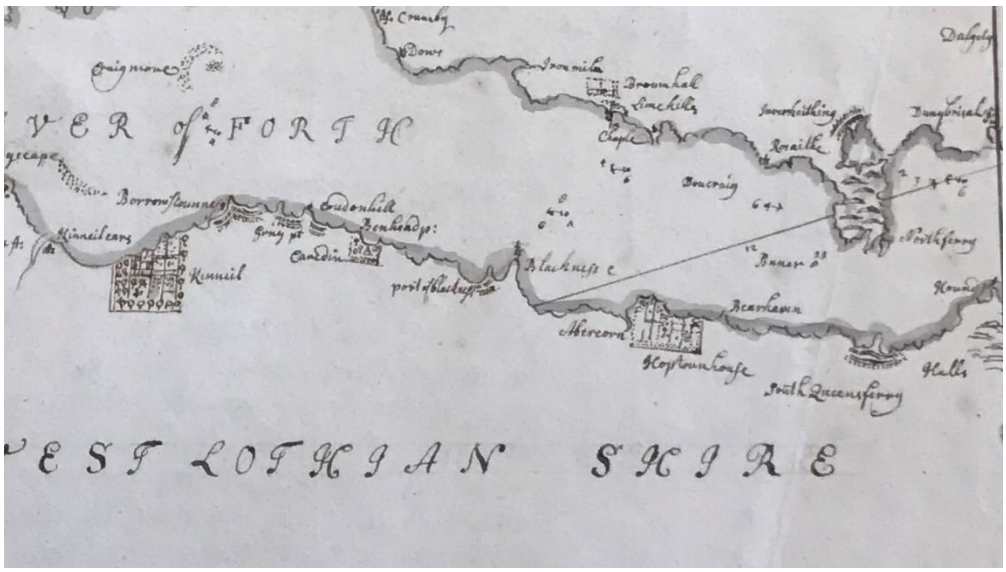
632 Adair, 'Hand-Drawn Map of West Lothian.'

633 Adair, 'A Map of West Lothian survey'd by Mr. J. Adair F.R.S.'

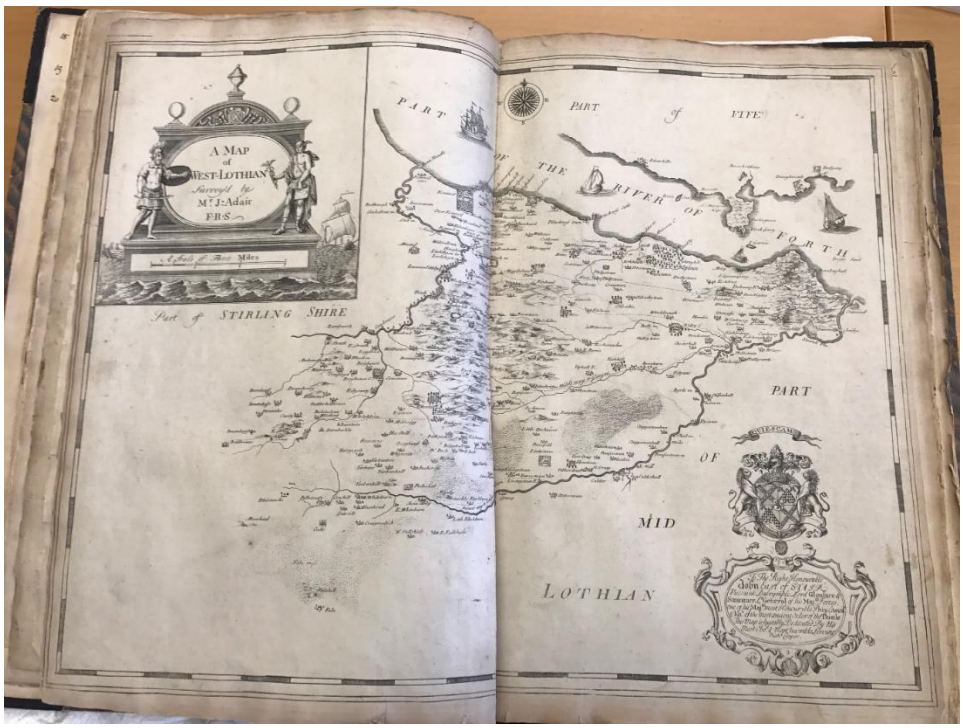
634 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 14.



(*Figure 6.3,* John Adair, Hand-Drawn Map of West Lothian, *The Description of the sea-coast and islands of Scotland, with large and exact maps, for use of seam*, 1703, Glasgow University Library, photograph taken by author*)*



(*Figure 6.4,* John Adair, close-up of Abercorn, Hopetoun House, and South Queensferry in Hand-Drawn Map of West Lothian, photograph taken by author*)*



(*Figure 6.5,* John Adair, 'A Map of West-Lothian survey'd by Mr. J. Adair, F.R.S.,' *The Description of the sea-coast and islands of Scotland, with large and exact maps, for use of seam*, 1703, Glasgow University Library, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 6.6,* John Adair, Closeup of 'A Map of West Lothian,' 1703. Hopetoun House and its parks are circled in red)

The next major map of Abercorn is part of the West Lothian map of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland, created between 1747 and 1755; it depicts the remarkable changes that happened to the parish between 1703 and approximately 1750 (*Figures 6.7* and *6.8*).[635] Not only does it show that Hopetoun House had achieved Adam's structural designs by that point, it displays the rational reorganisation of the surrounding parks. Some of these were clearly used for pleasure (as illustrated by the carefully planned avenues, promenades, and manicured forests). Others were clearly devoted to arable and pastoral agriculture, as shown by the open fields and ploughed fields (signified by faint lines drawn across them). It is clear that the ornamental and agricultural portions of Hopetoun's parks were divided. The question remains as to whether this region experienced all the changes that came with agricultural improvement by the mid-eighteenth century. Based on Roy's map, it seems that it occurred sporadically in this region. While much

635 Roy, 'West Lothian Map of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland.'

of West Lothian's landscape is dominated by the runrig system (large, broadly ploughed, and unevenly organised fields), the areas surrounding country houses (such as Hopetoun, Duddingston, and Humby) are enclosed into smaller, more manageable, and more evenly arranged fields. Not only does this map highlight what an enormous undertaking enclosure was, it also emphasises that it had already been undertaken at the region's larger farms. Indeed, it is clear the First and Second Earls had succeeded in enclosing the rest of the parks surrounding Hopetoun House by the time this map was drawn. A study of William Adam's estate plan, combined with the memorandum of parks, can shed light on how they began reshaping the landscape surrounding Hopetoun's main house.

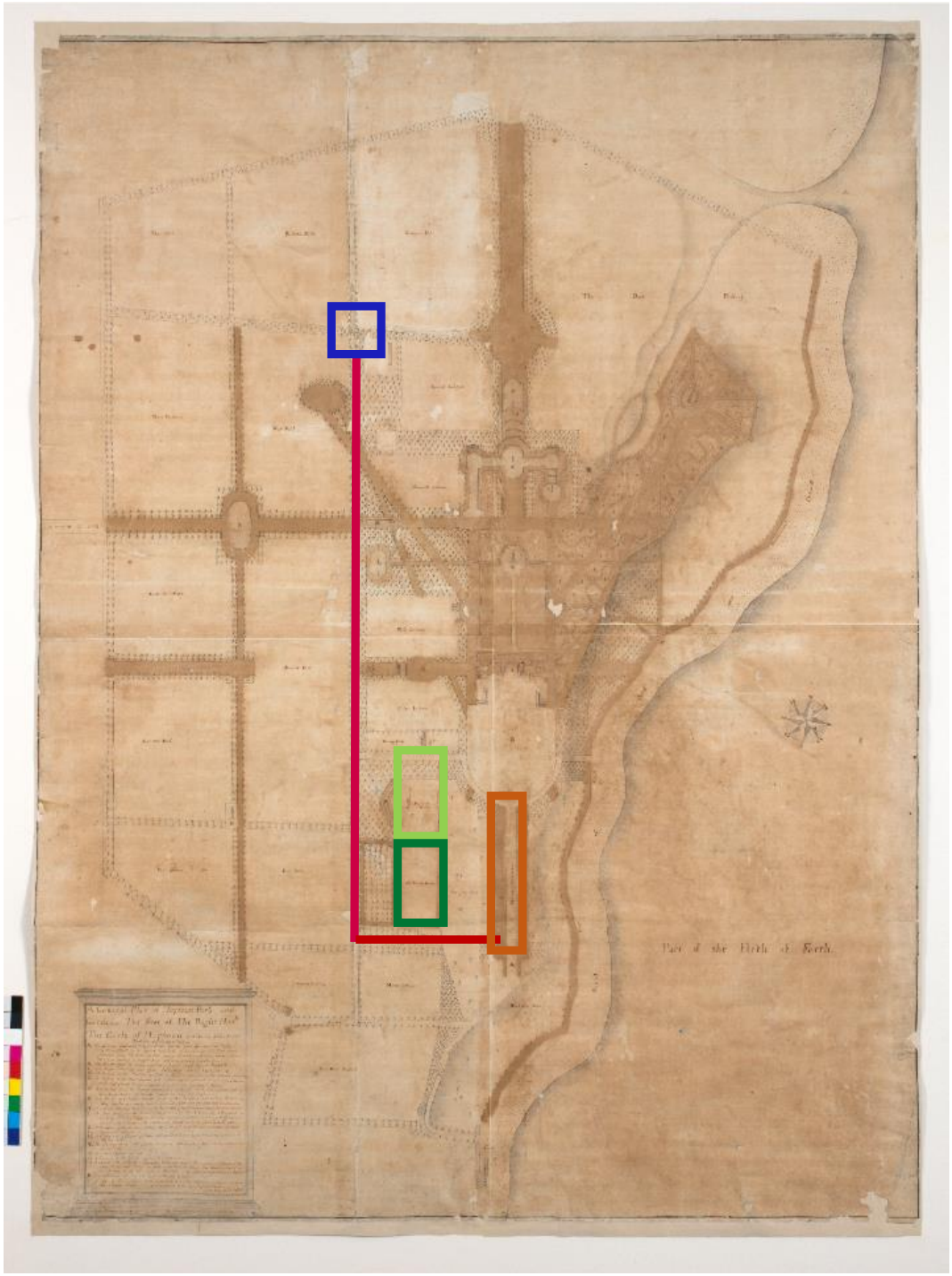
(*Figure 6.7,* William Roy, 'West Lothian Map of Roy's Military Survey of Scotland,' size unknown, 1747-1755, screenshot, map, NLS*)*

(*Figure 6.8,* William Roy, close-up of Hopetoun House, its parks, and the surrounding agricultural landscape, circa 1747-1755*)*

As discussed in the previous chapter, the First Earl of Hopetoun and Lady Margaret were early instigators of field enclosure. According to the memorandum, the 'first Parks were inclosed about the year 1700'—one year into the construction of Hopetoun House.[636] Before the arrival of Hopetoun House, it is undoubted that the parish consisted of traditional fermtouns. Once the Abercorn estate was chosen as the site of the Hopes' country seat, it began its gradual transformation into modernised farmland to be managed and rented out by the Hopes. However, because the enclosure of run-rig fields and fermtouns was a laborious process that undoubtedly required a great deal of planning, enclosure was gradual. In describing the first enclosed fields, the memorandum states that they 'Extended no farther east than the Thicket below the Kitchen Garden.'[637] By the time William Adam draughted his estate plan, there were two kitchen gardens at Hopetoun House: he labelled one the 'New Kitchin Garden' and the other the 'Old Kitchin Garden' (*Figure 6.9*). The latter was presumably the one cultivated during the Bruce era of Hopetoun House. Based on Adam's estate plan, the thicket described by the memorandum was just to the east of the kitchen garden and what he

636 Unknown Writer, 'An Account of the Parks at Hopetoun-house &c from the first Inclosing there about the Year 1700 To.'
637 *Ibid*.

labels the ‘East Field.’ This line came just before the entrance to the great avenue that lead up to the main house.

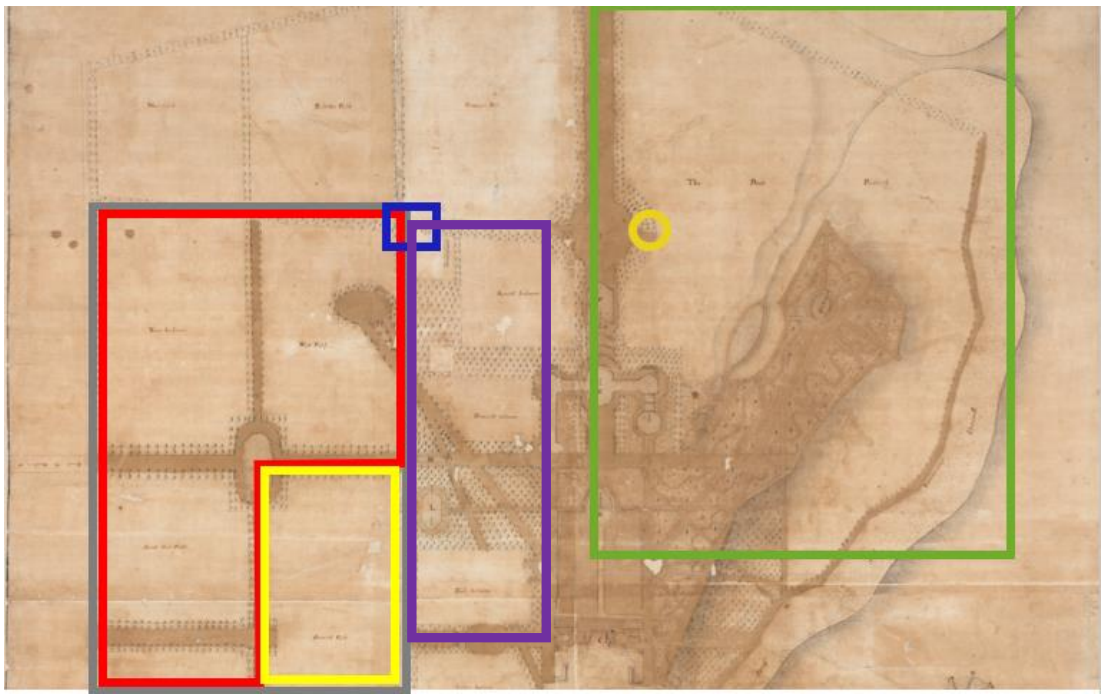


(*Figure 6.9,* William Adam, ‘Plan of Hopetoun House’s Estate,’ estate plan, circa 1721-1748, RHP 6800, HHPT, photograph taken courtesy of John Glynn. The road outlined in orange is the great avenue leading up to the house. The field outlined in forest green is the Bruce-era kitchen garden. The field outlined in spring green is presumably an Adam-era kitchen garden.

The horizontal red line is believed to be the 'Thicket below the Kitchen Garden,' or the eastern border. Likely location of the 'blue gate' outlined in navy blue. The 'south west enclosure' is outlined in sky blue. The southern border of the first enclosure is marked by the vertical red line)

Meanwhile, it does state that the newly enclosed parks 'were bounded on the South, by the Wall of the Garden & that which was along by the foot of the sheep park to the Blue gate.'[638] The blue gate remains at Hopetoun House to this day. Using the Adam estate plan, the blue gate is southwest of the main house and marks the end of a long road that lines the fields surrounding the main house to the south. This road is also believed to have been the southern border of Hopetoun's first enclosed parks described above (see *Figure 6.9*). Therefore, the areas lying immediately to the south of the main house were enclosed in 1700—at the beginning of Hopetoun House's construction. The areas 'north by the Church to the Shoar' were also enclosed in 1700 (*Figure 6.10*).[639] Since the area directly to the north of the main house is actually the Forth River, this newly enclosed area must have approximately encompassed the parklands to the northwest of the main house. This section of the estate was comprised of the wilderness and, later, the deer park. In short, a good portion of the parkland immediately surrounding Hopetoun's main house was enclosed within the second year of its construction. It should be noted that this correlates with what John Adair charted in his 1703 map of West Lothian. The pleasurable and functional elements of Hopetoun's landscape were also divided early in its existence by the north and south. While the outlying areas came to be enclosed at later dates, it did not take long for this to come to pass.

638 *Ibid*.
639 Unknown Writer, 'An Account of the Parks at Hopetoun-house.'



(*Figure 6.10,* Screen-shot of William Adam's Estate Plan. The fields enclosed in 1700 are outlined in purple. The area outlined in grey is believed to have been left relatively untouched in 1700. However, it was enclosed into the Stonehill and Southwest parks in 1712 (which are circled in yellow and red, respectively). Blue gate outlined in blue. The area circled in gold is the approximate location of Abercorn Kirk, which is unlabelled in Adam's estate plan. The area encircled in green encompasses the areas to the northwest of the main house that are believed to have been enclosed in 1700)

The next stage of enclosure at Hopetoun House took place in 1712. It was at this point that the 'park where the Quarrie lyes, with the Stone-Hill parks, sheep park, and south west or Blue gate park were all inclosed.'[640] This was when the fields to the south of the kitchen garden were subdivided into smaller enclosures. What is believed to have once been one big field came to be composed of the Stonehill park (which is where Staneyhill Tower is located), a sheep park, and the southwest park (see *Figure 6.10,* also, *Figures 6.11* and *6.12*). The 'Blue gate park' was also referred to as the 'south west' park.[641] In 1712, this field is believed to have consisted of the areas that Adam later labelled the 'South West Field,' the 'West Inclosure,' and the 'West Field' (see *Figure 6.10*). In other words, the 'blue gate park' was also originally one large field that was later broken up into three smaller

640 *Ibid.*
641 *Ibid.*

enclosures by the time Adam draughted his estate plan. In 1715, the northern section of the parkland that was enclosed in 1700 was made into a new deer park.[642]

(*Figure 6.11,* Screen-shot of the eastern section of William Adam's Estate Plan. Stonehill Park circled in purple. Part of the Southwest Park circled in blue. Sheep parks circled in gold)

(*Figure 6.12,* Staneyhill (Stonehill) Tower, which lies to the south of Hopetoun's main house, date unknown, builder unknown. Staneyhill Tower is

642 *Ibid.*

believed to be the location of one of Hopetoun House's dovecotes during the Bruce period, as well. Photograph taken by author)

The last bit of information given by the memorandum relating to the Bruce-era parks relates to how they were used. It states that: 'Most of the rest of the original parks, and also of the Stone hill parks, except the Sheep park, were broke up and plowed for some years after being first laid down, about the Year 1720 &c Since which they have been mostly in grass except as will be afterwards observed.'[643] Between 1700 and 1720, most of the enclosed fields—except for the sheep park and the areas directly to the south of the main house—were ploughed and used for cultivation. According to Rev. Meiklejohn, the area's chief crop was wheat. Thus, most of the parks surrounding Bruce's Hopetoun House (aside from those devoted to pleasure) were devoted to arable and pastoral agriculture. Hopetoun House was clearly a site of experiment in agricultural improvement. Although Hopetoun House was a centre for socio-economic and socio-political display, as well as a centre for aristocratic pleasure, farming and labour played a very important role at Hopetoun House. Not only did agriculture supplement the estate's income, but also the daily diet of the Hope family and its household. A variety of office houses supported Hopetoun's agricultural parks.

II. The Agricultural Office Houses at Hopetoun House Devoted to the Housing and Care of Animals

i. The Byres

Cattle had several purposes on eighteenth-century farms in Scotland. Not only did they provide households with fresh milk (and its by-products) and meat, oxen were also the choice draught animal over horses until well into the eighteenth century.[644] They were also an important source of fertiliser.[645] While cows and oxen were often kept loose in yards or small

643 *Ibid*.

644 R.W. Brunskill, *Traditional Form Buildings of Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1982), pp. 60, 73. Dairy farming was not yet a widespread industry in this period. See: Malcolm Bangor-Jones, 'Settlement, Society, and Field Systems in the Improvement Era,' Fenton and Veitch, eds., pp. 147-9, 152; Robert Hay, 'Crops and Livestock in the Improvement Era,' Fenton and Veitch, eds., pp. 244, 249, 251, and 259.

645 Brunskill, p. 60.

cattle-boxes (a cubicle that was built to contain either a single ox or two cattle), important or weak cattle were wintered indoors in specially built byres.[646] The French agricultural writer, Louis Liger advised to keep new-born calves and heifers in a separate space within the byre.[647] Byres were situated around the outer courtyard and Liger recommended that they be south-facing.[648] The number that could be kept indoors depended on the amount of fodder (both straw and hay) that was produced during the previous growing season.[649] This task would have been difficult to accomplish for poor or small-time farmers. Byres were also arranged into stalls that could permit a pair of cows to sit, lie, or stand comfortably. Traditionally, the cows would be tethered to the wall, facing away from the central aisle of the byre; servants would then feed them from behind (*Figure 6.13*).[650]

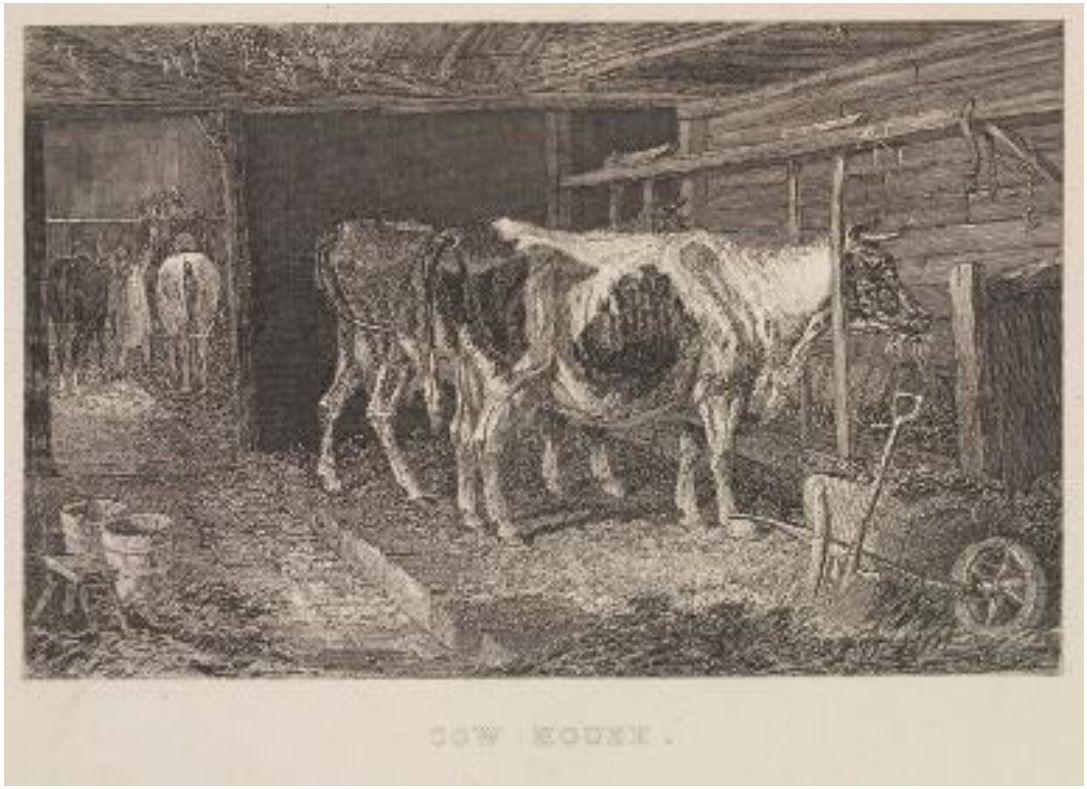
646 Brunskill, pp. 60, 73.

647 Louis Liger, *La Nouvelle Maison Rustique, ou Économie Generale De Tous Les Biens De Campagne: La maniere de les entretenir & de les multiplier; Donnée ci-devant au Public par le Sieur Liger. Huitiéme Édition, Augmentée considérablement, & mise en meilleur ordre: AVEC La Vertu des Simples, L'Apoticairerie, & Les Décisions du Droit François sur les Matieres Rurales; Et enrichie de Figures en Taille-douche. Par M.***. TOME PREMIER* (Paris: Claude Prudhomme, 1710), p. 13, MRB.189-190, NLS.

648 Charles McKean, 'Galleries, Girnals, Yards and the Woman House: The Ancillary Structures of the Renaissance Country House in Scotland.' *Review of Scottish Culture* 16 (2002-2003 or 2003-2004—it says both): p. 26; Liger, pp. 11, 13.

649 Brunskill, pp. 60, 62.

650 Brunskill, p. 62; Unknown Artist, 'Cow House,' Eighteenth-Nineteenth century, engraving print on wove paper, 13.6-13.8 cm x 18.7-18.8 cm, the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, from the Victoria & Albert Museum, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O954666/cow-house-print-unknown/ (accessed 29 March, 2018).



(*Figure 6.13,* Unknown Artist, 'Cow House,' 18th-19th century, engraving print on wove paper, 13.6-13.8 cm x 18.7-18.8 cm, the Victoria & Albert Museum, London*)*

Alternatively, they were then tethered to feeding troughs, which ran across the length of the byre's feeding passage.[651] Their stalls were also built with a slight incline because it allowed any urine and leaked milk to drain away into the byre's drainage channels (which ideally drained into communal middens).[652] Furthermore, cows themselves naturally prefer to lie down uphill.[653] Typical byres until the nineteenth century were low, ill-lit, and ill-ventilated with no windows.[654] This was due to the belief at the time that low-built byres limited the odour produced by the cattle.[655] Byres were preferably built in stone to trap as much heat as possible during the winter months.[656] Liger notes that while not essential, byres with built floors also retain warmth

651 Brunskill, p. 62.

652 Brunskill, p. 62; Agricultural and Horticultural Development Board, 'Cubicle Design,' AHDB.org.uk, https://dairy.ahdb.org.uk/technical-information/animal-health-welfare/lameness/husbandry-prevention/building-design/cubicles/#.WrziWYjwZPY (accessed 29 March, 2018).

653 *Ibid.*

654 Brunskill, pp. 62-3; Liger, p. 13.

655 Liger, p. 13.

656 Brunskill, p. 63.

better.[657] Meanwhile, the hay-lofts that were built on top of byres were expected to be well-ventilated to keep vermin away and to keep the hay itself fresh.[658] This was how cattle were typically kept in the early eighteenth century.

This consequently contextualises Hopetoun's byres. It is lucky that the 1714 building contract for the oxen byres at Hopetoun House survives. In other words, this contract describes a building that housed oxen separately from cattle. There is no record of its construction, but it is likely that a cattle byre was built at Hopetoun between 1700 and 1705 based on the park memorandum's mention of a 'cow park' in William Adam's estate plan. Thus, the first piece of information that this document gives modern readers is that Lord Hopetoun had the resources (both in terms of finances and space) to keep oxen, cows, and other types of cattle separately at Hopetoun House. Hay was traditionally kept in lofts above the cow-house for easy access.[659] The presence of a hay loft is recorded at Hopetoun as early as 1703, when Bachope recorded working on the stonework surrounding the hay loft's door; it was most likely located above the cattle byre.[660] If the hay loft was finished around 1703 or 1704, it is safe to assume that the cattle byre was finished around the same date. This long predates the construction of the aforementioned oxen byre. Why did such a separation occur? Perhaps Hopetoun's oxen population outgrew an older one; perhaps it was a replacement for one that had burned down; perhaps it was secondary accommodation for Hopetoun's oxen. Whatever the case, the presence of multiple byres at Hopetoun indicates the number of resources that went into supporting the country seat's agricultural operations.

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657 Liger, p. 13.
658 Brunskill, p. 63.
659 Brunskill, p. 63.
660 Tobias Bachope, 'November 12th 1703, The Measure of Masone Work wrought in ye Doge house and dyks att Abercorn Belonging to the Earle of Hoptoun Done be Tobias Baick Masone,' building account, 12 November, 1703, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

The oxen byre was directed to be built between 3 April, 1714 (the date the contract was signed) and 1 August, 1714.[661] It was ordered to be fourteen feet wide.[662] Based on one of Mather's building accounts, the oxen byre was 55 feet long.[663] Although the byre's walls directed to be only five feet tall, its barrel-vaulted ceiling would have added some height.[664] The byre was ordered to be built on the south side of the dog kennel yard. As the next chapter will explore, this was on the southeast side of the house next to the washing green, which were both among the original 1700 enclosure. A calf's enclosure lay conveniently to the west of the byre yard (see *Figures 7.3* and *7.4*). Furthermore, the location of the byre indicates that its entrance would have faced south.[665] The fact that the north wall was directed to be three feet thick while the south wall was only to be one and one-half feet thick also implies that the byre was designed according to the sun's rotation.[666] The north-facing wall, receiving little sunlight, was made thicker to trap heat; the south-facing wall, which received the most sunlight, did not have the same issue. Although the byre was unusual in that it was directed to have windows, it adhered to typical byre and cow-house construction with its low ceilings.[667] While built in stone, it does not appear to have been ornamented. In all, Hopetoun's oxen byre was an exceptional example in this period—undoubtedly due to the wealth of its patrons.

Although the building contract instructed David Mather to complete the byre's masonry-work by August, 1714, work continued to be carried out there until early 1716. Thomas Warrander painted the byre's door in 1715.[668]

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661 William Bradful, 'Agreement btwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather Mason in Kirkhouses (Oxen Byre Contract),' lines 15-16, 19-20, building contract, 3 April, 1714, NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. See Appendix D.

662 Oxen Byre Contract, line 2.

663 David Mather, 'Accompt of meason work wrought To the Earle of Hoptoune, David Mather Masone,' building account, receipt of discharge signed 20 February, 1716, NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT.

664 Oxen Byre Contract, lines 2-3.

665 Oxen Byre Contract, lines 1, 4-5.

666 Oxen Byre Contract, lines 3-4.

667 Oxen Byre Contract, lines 5-6.

668 Thomas Warrander, 'Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to John Warrander, 1715,' building account, April, 1715, NRAS/888 Bundle 3,025, HHPT.

Furthermore, a second section was added to this contract on 20 February, 1716. In it, Mather states that he built 'a pend [arch] over the said side walls now built or any part of them.'[669] It is likely that this indicates that the building was extended between August, 1714 and the beginning of 1716 to make room for more oxen and David Mather wanted to confirm in writing that he went ahead and built the barrel-vaulted ceiling for the addition. Building accounts record some of Mather's activities at the byre in that period, such as preparing the masonry for the installation of the byre's door and window.[670] Once again, this underscores the resources that were spent on housing animals at Hopetoun. With that being said, cattle and oxen were not the only livestock kept at Hopetoun House.

ii. The Pigsty

Raising pigs was a ubiquitous agricultural activity that crossed socio-economic boundaries.[671] They were consequently hugely important to rural and domestic economies, as well as everyday diets, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[672] The sole purpose of pigs was to be raised for slaughter and consumption by their owners. Not only did they produce large litters (and were therefore easier to breed than other animals), they did not require a great deal of attention, were easy to fatten up, and were cheap to feed.[673] Consequently, most Scottish families kept at least one or two pigs by the early nineteenth century.[674] Pigs in the medieval period were hearty, hairy, and muscular and as such were better kept free to roam and graze in the woods with only a swineherd to look after them.[675] Selective breeding transformed them into animals that more closely resembled the portly and rather immobile creatures known today.[676] Removing pigs to the confines of

669 Oxen Byre Contract, line 24.
670 David Mather, 'Accompt of meason work wrought To the Earle of Hoptoune, David Mather Masone.'
671 Dixon, from Fenton and Veitch, eds., pp. 236-7.
672 Brunskill, p. 75.
673 *Ibid.*
674 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 173.
675 *Ibid.*
676 *Ibid.*

the farmyard became a necessity that coincided with the early stages of enclosure.[677] Pigs had also become more susceptible to wind and cold by this period and so were given basic accommodation for protection against the elements.[678]

The most common type was a loose box that could accommodate one or two pigs and a yard for exercise.[679] Louis Liger advised isolating sows because there was otherwise a morbid risk that boars would kill their mates and eat their piglets.[680] He also recommended building a strong floor in the sties that would support the weight of pigs and trap heat.[681] Because pigs were such a commonly-kept animal, their accommodation was typically kept simple and austere early in the eighteenth century. Little is specifically known of Hopetoun's pigsty. That George Livingston recorded that he crafted miscellaneous metal objects for the building in 1718 does confirm the presence of a pigsty at Hopetoun and that it was most likely finished well before that date.[682] Without further documentation, it is impossible to know the building's exact design, appearance, and location. Given the historical context discussed above, it is likely that Hopetoun's early-eighteenth-century pigsty was designed functionally and simply. Furthermore, the pigsty was probably grouped in with the cluster of byres southeast of the main house. Despite this lack of precise information, it is clear that pigs were kept, bred, and consumed at Hopetoun House. Pigs were not the only animals at Hopetoun that were easy and cheap to handle: chickens were also an important addition to Hopetoun's mains farm.

iii. The Hen House

677 *Ibid.*
678 *Ibid.*
679 *Ibid.*
680 Liger, p. 14.
681 *Ibid.*
682 George Livingston, 'Accot the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith at Society, February and March 1718,' building account, February and March, 1718, NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT; George Livingston, 'Accott the Earl of Hopton to George Livinston smith September 1718,' building account, September, 1718, NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HPPT; George Livingston, 'Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingstoun smith at Society in December 1718,' building account, December, 1718, NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT.

Hens were another animal that crossed socio-economic boundaries. According to R.W. Brunskill: 'only the privileged could keep pigeons but anyone could keep hens and the farmer's wife and the cottager's wife alike took advantage of the right.'[683] Keeping chickens for meat and eggs added variety to a person's diet (whether tenant or landlord).[684] The care of chickens was also easy and inexpensive. Chickens were permitted to roam about freely on a farm and were fed on whatever scraps or grub they could find.[685] They would then be locked up at night in order to keep them and their eggs safe from thieves and predators.[686] Poultry lofts were the typical accommodation given to chickens.[687] According to the building accounts, however, Hopetoun House had a hen house: an entirely separate building for keeping its population of chickens. As a consequence, this indicates that there was a large population of chickens at Hopetoun. Liger suggested that hen houses were best placed by the outer courtyard: while it could receive warmth from the house and other nearby office houses, the household would be spared from chickens' dirtiness and odour.[688] Liger also stated that the doors and windows of hen houses should be well-built (for security and for the chickens' comfort) and face east for sunlight and warmth.[689] Finally, he recommended that the floors should be made of thick and tightly-installed wooden planks (again, to keep warmth in and cold out).[690] Even if hen houses were not ornate buildings, they were a step above simple poultry lofts and it was recommended that they be well-built. This was another investment: hen houses were built to maximise egg production. This provides some historical context for Hopetoun's hen house.

The first records of Hopetoun's hen house come from 1704, when Tobias Bachope and his men crafted and installed the holes for the hen's

683 Brunskill, p. 86.
684 *Ibid*.
685 *Ibid*.
686 *Ibid*.
687 *Ibid*.
688 Liger, p. 14. This supports McKean's assertion that this type of building was kept in the outer courtyard. See McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 26.
689 *Ibid*.
690 *Ibid*.

nests.[691] The following year, Bachope continued working on the hen house's interior rough stonework and hewn-work.[692] Bachope installed the steps to the hen house in 1706.[693] David Mather hewed and installed stone tiles for the ridges of the hen house roof.[694] Although the building account does not specify, the hen house's hewn work was most likely only functional and not decorative. It is interesting to note that the interior of this hen house was designed similarly to a dovecote: each chicken was given her own space to nest. This method likely kept such a dirty and chaotic space (chickens are loud and hyper-active, after all) a semblance of organisation. That the hen house was clearly a carefully constructed building points to the important position that hens ultimately held at Hopetoun House. Not only did they supply the household with eggs, but also with meat. They may have been cheap and easy to rear, but they were still valuable. As per the recommendation of such writers as Louis Liger, the hen house was most likely located on the south-side of Hopetoun's outer courtyard alongside the other buildings discussed above. This hen-house existed alongside the dovecote to provide the household at Hopetoun House a ready supply of poultry and fowl.

iv. The Dovecote

Dovecotes (or doocot in Scots), of course, kept doves, pigeons, and other similar birds. They were common on high-status farms from the Middle Ages to well into the eighteenth century.[695] Dovecotes had several ubiquitous architectural features. While openings near the roof allowed birds to fly in and

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691 Tobias Bachope, 'Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of HOptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous,' building account, 30 December, 1704, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHTP.

692 Tobias Bachope, 'The Measure of Masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptoun house done be Tobias Bachope masone,' building account, 1705, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

693 Unknown Writer (Tobias Bachope?), 'Acomptt of days wroght to the Earill of Hoptoun since the 19 of Feberuar 1706 to ye 23 of December 1706 as follous,' building account, 23 December, 1706, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

694 David Mather, 'Accompt of meason work wrought To the Earle of Hoptoune, David Mather Masone,' building account, 1715, NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT.

695 Brunskill, p. 80.

out freely, the interior walls of dovecotes were fitted with boxes—ranging in number from hundreds to thousands, depending on the dovecote's size—for the birds to build nests (*Figure 6.14*).[696] The dovecote at Midhope, for example, contained a staggering 2,006 boxes (the largest in Scotland contained 2,421 boxes).[697] The centre of the dovecote would be left open to give caretakers easy access to the boxes and to allow bird-droppings to collect in one, open space. Those droppings were subsequently used as fertiliser. Beehive-type dovecotes dominated Scotland during the Middle Ages.[698] However, the most common type of dovecote in Scotland by the end of the seventeenth century was the lectern dovecote, which was a square or double-square with a single-pitched roof and openings in the roof for birds.[699] The earliest example of the lectern-type in Scotland was the one at the Bailey of Tantallon Castle, East Lothian, which dates from the seventeenth century.[700]

696 Brunskill, pp. 85-6.
697 G.A.G. Peterkin, *Scottish Dovecotes* (Coupar Angus, Pertshire, Scotland: William Culross & Son Limited, 1980), p. 18.
698 Peterkin, p. 13; Brunskill, p. 84.
699 *Ibid.*
700 Peter and Jean Hansell, *A Dovecote Heritage* (Bath: Millstream Books, 1992), p. 18.

(*Figure 6.14,* Interior of the Craigiehall dovecote, built 1672. It is filled with stone boxes in which birds could nest. Photograph taken by author)

Dovecotes were extremely valuable in that they provided households with fresh meat and eggs in the winter, as well as high-quality manure during planting seasons.[701] However, they were not accessible to everyone: 'the right to maintain a dovecote was restricted to privileged landlords, monasteries and parochial clergy.'[702] Although the cost of labour required to care for these birds was little, they were a status statement because only

701 Brunskill, pp. 80, 82.
702 Brunskill, p. 82. Also, see Hansell, p. 59.

landowners were permitted to build and keep dovecotes. It was recommended to build them at a distance from the main house because they were loud, dirty, and smelly.[703] Builders were also warned to keep dovecotes away from trees for the safety of the small birds (hawks and such could otherwise stalk them in those trees), as well as away from bodies of water for the sake of their nerves.[704] Agricultural tenants were very resentful of dovecotes since resident birds would feed on their crops.[705] Even if a short distance from the country house, dovecotes still provided the birds convenient access to nearby agricultural fields. Such destruction of the common man's livelihood and main source of food meant that dovecotes stood as a symbol of the social divide between Scotland's peers and their tenants. The dovecotes at Craigiehall, Midhope, and Kinross, at least, were located in the vicinity of the outer courtyards (*Figures 6.15* and *6.16*).[706] Each surely provided easy access to nearby farms. Nonetheless, dovecotes remained a mainstay of country houses because of the food and fertiliser they provided.

703 Liger, p. 16.
704 *Ibid*.
705 Lucinda Lambton, *Palaces for Pigs: Animal Architecture and Other Beastly Buildings* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011), p. 81.
706 Hansell, p. 60.

(*Figure 6.15,* Dovecote at Craigiehall, built 1672. Photograph taken by author. Craigiehall's dovecote is a few minutes' walk from the main house)

(*Figure 6.16*, Dovecote next to Midhope Castle on the Hopetoun Estate, believed to be from early eighteenth century. Photograph taken by author. This dovecote is a short distance from Midhope Castle; it likely was originally located near its outer courtyard. However, it is over a mile from Hopetoun House. There were extensive agricultural fields between the two country houses)

If only a privileged few could build and maintain a dovecote, then this type of building showed the extent of the Hopes' prestige at Hopetoun House. There were at least three dovecotes at Hopetoun: one was at Midhope Castle (which is about one and one-half miles north of the main house); one was at Society Hill; and another was in the Stonehill park (*Figures 6.17,* also see *Figure 6.12*). While it is consequently difficult to

establish timelines of construction for each one, it is at least possible to pinpoint when they were present at Hopetoun House. The existence of dovecotes at Hopetoun House is recorded as early as 1703 when William Aitken recorded crafting a new key for one of them.[707] The first documentation of the dovecote at Midhope Castle specifically is from 1711, when William Aitken mended its lock.[708]

(*Figure 6.17*, Side-view of dovecote at Midhope Castle. Note that it has a single-pitched roof, as is typical for the building type. Photograph taken by author)

Because this dovecote is a lectern-type dovecote, rather than a beehive dovecote, it was built between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore, it is possible that this dovecote was originally built to serve Hopetoun House rather than the Renaissance-era Midhope Castle. Even if it was built to serve Midhope before Hopetoun House was begun, the

[707] William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703,' building account, 24 August, 1703, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

[708] William Aitken, 'Ane Acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptoun begun Jan 1711,' building account, begun January, 1711, NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT.

dovecote still would have served the new country seat eventually since John Hope acquired Midhope in 1678. Whatever the case, the Midhope dovecote was finished before 1711 since there is no record of any major building activities taking place there. In fact, most of the references that the building accounts make to Hopetoun's dovecotes between 1703 and 1719 concern minor repairs the blacksmiths made to their locks, windows, and other areas. There are instances of more significant construction and renovation projects, however. The slater, Thomas Miller, slated the roof for the dovecote at Society Hill (southeast of the entrance to the main avenue leading to Hopetoun House) in 1711; this building was either new or newly renovated.[709] In addition, David Mather fitted the dovecote at Stonehill with 969 boxes in 1717.[710] Even if the dovecote itself was not new, it at least had been recently repaired, renovated, or expanded. If the Stonehill and Society Hill dovecotes were recently-constructed structures, they would have been lectern-types like the Midhope dovecote. Finally, Miller repaired the roof for the dovecote at Midhope in 1719.[711]

That dovecotes could be found to the west, south, and northeast of Hopetoun's main house indicates the important position they held on the estate. Two were situated at a distance from the main house in the middle of fields (which would have further aggravated local farmers). Hopetoun's doves, pigeons, and similar fowl were isolated from the many activities that surrounded the main house that could scare them away. These birds were an important supplement to a wealthy household's diet. That there were multiple dovecotes at Hopetoun speaks to the size of its household and the amount of food it consumed on a daily basis, as well as its wealth.[712] Doves, as well as

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709 Thomas Miller, 'Accompt Be The Earle of Hoptoun To Thomas Miller, 1711,' building account, begun December, 1710, NRAS/888 Bundle 3,025, HHPT.

710 David Mather, 'Accont the Earle of Hoptoun to David Mather Mason,' building account, 1717, NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT.

711 Thomas Miller, 'Accompt The Right Honorable The Earle of Hoptoun To Thomas Millar, 1719,' building account, 1719, NRAS/888 Bundle 3,025, HHPT.

712 It should be remembered that the First Earl and Countess of Hopetoun had thirteen children between 1702 and 1721—almost the exact period of Bruce's Hopetoun House. Four died in their infancy in 1703, 1704, 1715, and 1727, respectively. A fifth died at the age of thirteen in 1734. Despite these misfortunes, the First Earl and Countess of Hopetoun's family was large and would have consequently made use of a great deal of resources (particularly

the other poultry and livestock at Hopetoun, would have been slaughtered and butchered in the slaughter house.

v. The Slaughter House and the Dung Court

While the slaughter house and dung court did not contribute to the accommodation or care of Hopetoun's animals, they maximised their usefulness to the estate. The purpose of the slaughter house is self-explanatory: it was where Hopetoun's domesticated animals (who would not have been hunted) were brought to be slaughtered and butchered for consumption by the household. Animals were traditionally slaughtered between November and February.[713] Because most Scottish families had limited numbers of animals to slaughter every year, they relied on preserving their meat (through salting, pickling, smoking, or some other method) and rationing it over the course of the year; they rarely got fresh meat.[714] The introduction of root vegetables and updated arable farming methods (which increased hay yields) to Scotland in the late seventeenth century eventually allowed livestock to be wintered better.[715] Consequently, more families came to have regular access to fresh meat by the end of the eighteenth century. However, this was not the case at the turn of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the Hopes were not an average Scottish farming family: they had numerous dovecotes, a large population of domestic animals, and a vast estate to support them all. A mix of fresh and preserved meats would have been present at their tables daily no matter what the season.

The slaughter-house at Hopetoun House would have consequently been used regularly rather than annually. The earliest documentation of Hopetoun's slaughterhouse dates to 1703, when Tobias Bachope records

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as a wealth and aristocratic family). See Henrietta Hope, First Countess of Hopetoun, 'Ane Account of My Childrens Agess Charles Earl of Hoptoun dy'd 26 Febr 1742 in his 61st year Henrietta Countess of Hopetoun Dy'd 25 Novr 1750 in her 69th year,' family account, circa 1699-1750, NRAS/888 Bundle 355, HHPT.

713 Brunskill, p. 83; Fenton, p. 170.

714 Fenton, pp. 170-1.

715 Brunskill, p. 83; Fenton, p. 171.

having laid the steps to the slaughterhouse's door and plugged up the scaffolding holes with iron.[716] Bachope also states that he worked on some carving work at the 'slaughter house in the Kitchine Court' in 1706.[717] While work was still being carried out at the slaughter house in 1704, it was mostly complete by 1706. As with the other office houses explored here, the slaughter house was built alongside the main house between 1699 and 1706. The last piece of documentation also very helpfully says the slaughter house's location: it was a short distance from the main house but isolated in the kitchen court alongside the office wings. In other words, Hopetoun's slaughterhouse was grouped with the culinary offices a short distance from the main house and among Hopetoun's agricultural and domestic offices. The slaughterhouse therefore straddled two categories: agricultural and culinary. The building's location was also a matter of convenience in that the slaughtered animals only had to be brought a short distance to the kitchens. It was also practical to keep the slaughterhouse isolated from the main house and its household since the building was a dirty and smelly space. This was not the only unseemly office at Hopetoun House.

The dung court, which stored the excrement produced by Hopetoun's animals, was essential as a source of fertiliser for the estate. This was not a feature unique to Hopetoun House. The storage and use of dung comprise a topic that appeared in contemporary treatises on agriculture. According to Liger: '*Les Fumiers qu'on tire de dessous les bestiaux, doivent être mis dans un coin de la basse-cour, à côté, s'il se peut, des écuries ou étables* [The manure that one takes from beneath beasts must be put in a corner of the base court next to, if possible, the stables or the byres].'[718] In other words, Liger advised to keep dirty, smelly, and unsightly middens away from the central areas of display. Not only were middens kept away from landlords'

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716 Tobias Bachope, 'Acomptt of days wroght to the Earill of Hoptoun since the 19 of Feberuar 1706 to ye 23 of December 1706 as follous,' 23 December, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

717 Tobias Bachope, 'The accompt of Mason work wrought att Hoptoun house by Tobias Bachope masone in ye year 1706,' 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

718 Liger, p. 20.

accommodations, but also from the farm-workers'.[719] Since Liger also advised to keep middens away from wells, there were health reasons, as well as aesthetic ones, behind a dung court's isolated location. At the same time, they still needed to be centrally located so that the kitchen gardeners, the formal gardeners, and agricultural workers could access this important resource easily. The base court or outer courtyard was therefore a good compromise for the location of a dung court.

The records of Hopetoun's dung court come from 1703, when Tobias Bachope stated that he worked on the rough stone walls surrounding the court and the carved work around its door.[720] Based on this documentation, Hopetoun's dung court was a simple space: it was a sequestered area, surrounded by stone walls, and access to it could be gained by a door. Since theorists recommended keeping the dung fresh by throwing water on it, a roof or other covering was unnecessary.[721] Any semblance of ostentation was unneeded for a structure whose sole purpose was to store excrement. Hopetoun's dung court was likely situated near the byres. Not only would it have been easy to transport the cattles' and oxen's waste to the midden that way, it also situated the midden near Hopetoun's outer courtyard. This central location provided easy access to the midden for Hopetoun's house- and farm-workers. The cycle of animals producing excrement to fertilise the fields that would grow the grains that were fed (and ultimately digested and excreted) to Hopetoun's animals was endless. Since grains did play such a key role at Hopetoun, it is now time to discuss the buildings that were devoted to processing and storing them.

III. The Agricultural Office Houses at Hopetoun House Devoted to the Processing and Storage of Grain

i. The Barn

719 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 183.

720 Bachope, 'November 12th 1703, The Measure of Masone Work wrought in ye Doge house and dyks att Abercorn Belonging to the Earle of Hoptoun Done be Tobias Baick Masone.'

721 Liger, p. 21.

A variety of grain crops—which included wheat, oats, rye, and barley—were grown on Lowland farms and could be made into malt, bread and other baked goods, or used to feed animals.[722] Fluctuations in trade, fertility of the land, and the size of arable holdings were all factors that influenced the amount of grain a farm produced.[723] Even with modernisation, eighteenth-century arable farming followed the same formula it had for hundreds, if not thousands, of years: once farmers ploughed their fields, they sowed the grains, harrowed the soil to cover the seeds, and waited for everything to grow.[724] Harvesting was a communal activity carried out by sickle or scythe until the nineteenth century.[725] Once grain was harvested, it was bound into sheaves and stored in well-ventilated and lit spaces to dry before being processed into consumable matter.[726] The processing of grain was carried out during the winter and comprised of two steps: threshing, which separated straw from consumable parts of the grain; and winnowing, which further broke down the consumable parts of the grain from the chaffe.[727] Essentially, a barn was 'more a factory than a warehouse.'[728] Before mechanisation, there were four main methods to thresh corn: oxen or other animals could tread on the corn directly; they could pull a sledge overtop the grain; farm-workers could beat each sheaf on the wall; or farm-workers could use a hand flail on the grain.[729] Although the fourth method was the most common, it was labourious, costly, and inefficient.[730] However, it gave farmworkers something to do in the wintertime and it was probably the only method available to those without the resources to have animals perform this task. Barns were quintessential to farms of all sizes and prosperity because it was in these buildings that this activity took place.

722 Brunskill, p. 34.
723 *Ibid.*
724 Brunskill, p. 36.
725 *Ibid.*
726 Whyte, p. 124; Brunskill, p. 36.
727 Brunskill, pp. 34, 36.
728 *Ibid.*
729 Brunskill, p. 36.
730 Brunskill, p. 41.

Although there is little documentation pertaining to the barns at Hopetoun, it is clear that there was at least one on the estate. In 1711, Aitken recorded crafting a new key for the 'corn barn' and mending its lock.[731] Historical context can provide some clues as to what Hopetoun's barn (or barns) was like. Like most of the agricultural buildings explored in this chapter, the barn was typically located in the vicinity of the outer courtyard.[732] Thus, Hopetoun's barn was most likely placed in the vicinity of the byre and other animal buildings. Barns had to be well-ventilated to keep the grain dry (damp grain could mould), well-lit so workers could see, tall so workers could move un-hindered by support beams (and so that air could circulate), and spacious enough to provide plenty of room for the threshing floor.[733] Large doors allowed carts of grain to enter and exit easily and improved air-flow.[734] Liger also advised that large, high windows would improve a barn's ventilation.[735] Stone barns had holes built into them for this reason.[736] Because this was the most common building material in the Scottish Lowlands in this period, Hopetoun's barn was most likely stone. It would have had large doors and windows, as well as holes built into the masonry work to provide plenty of light and ventilation. An estate like Hopetoun's would have required a large threshing floor for the processing of large quantities of grain. Thus, Hopetoun's barn would have also been tall and large.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Lord Belhaven advised that a barn should be planned on a north-south orientation with doors on the east and west sides.[737] Such an orientation would further capitalise on winds to improve the barn's ventilation.[738] It is likely that Hopetoun's barn was oriented this way, as well. Space was provided on either side of the threshing floor for

731 Aitken, 'Ane Acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptoun begun Jan 1711.'
732 McKean, p. 31.
733 Brunskill, pp. 36, 38; Liger, p. 9.
734 Brunskill, p. 38.
735 Liger, p. 9.
736 Brunskill, p. 41.
737 Lord Belhaven, pp. 28-9.
738 Lord Belhaven, p. 129; Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 182.

the temporary storage of un-threshed sheaves and threshed straw.[739] This would have added to the size of Hopetoun's barn. When the threshed straw was moved away from the threshing floor and into storage, all that was left was the grain that had to be winnowed.[740] Winnowing the grain was accomplished by shaking the threshed grain to separate the light chaffe from the heavy grain; a well-ventilated barn helped this process.[741] A hard floor made of wood or, preferably, stone was recommended for both these steps.[742] Hopetoun's barn most likely had a stone floor. In addition, it was recommended to keep multiple barns for the separate processing of different grains (a barn for wheat, a barn for oats, et cetera).[743] This, of course, could only be accomplished by those who could afford the investment. Whether there were multiple barns at Hopetoun is impossible to say without further documentation. However, it seems logical that this would have been the case given the size of Hopetoun's estate and the quantity of grain that would have been processed there every season. Once grain was processed, it was separated by size into sacs and moved to the granary for storage until later consumption or sale at the market.[744] As with every larger agricultural enterprise in this period, the girnel (or granary) at Hopetoun was an extremely important building.

ii. The Girnel (or Granary)

Processed grains were often stored in farmhouses across Britain since most farms did not produce high-enough yields to necessitate separate granaries.[745] Big estates, like Hopetoun, did require separate storage spaces due to their much larger harvests. As with barns, girnels had to be dry and well-ventilated to keep the grain dry and fresh.[746] They also had to be well-built and kept clean (with minimal holes, nooks, and crannies) to deter

739 Brunskill, p. 40.
740 *Ibid.*
741 *Ibid.*
742 Brunskill, p. 38; Liger, p. 9.
743 Lord Belhaven, p. 129; Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 182.
744 Brunskill, pp. 41-2.
745 Brunskill, p. 87.
746 *Ibid.*

vermin.[747] They also had to be secure to protect against any thieves.[748] There were four main types of granaries across Britain: free-standing granaries, granaries raised above cart-sheds, granaries raised above stables, and granaries that were combined with food preparation spaces.[749] The most common type of girnel in Scotland was the cart-shed type.[750] Sheds would have protected carts (and other implements that heightened the productivity of grain-processing) from the elements. Storing grain in a loft above the cart-shed was both a convenient use of the space and a boost to the efficiency of the farm.[751] These lofts would have both been plastered to cover up any holes in which vermin could sneak and securely built to support the weight of the grain.[752] Larger estates would have had two storeys of storage above the cart-shed.[753] Granaries were often located near the outer-courtyard, which would have allowed for the easy transportation of grain from the barn.[754] Louis Liger advised to keep granaries completely separate from the principal lodgings for fear of fire.[755] This historical context is helpful in understanding Hopetoun's own girnel.

The first mention of Hopetoun's girnel in the building accounts is when William Aitken recorded mending two of the girnel's locks in 1705.[756] Every further mention of the girnel in Hopetoun's building accounts was very similar in nature. In other words, the building accounts reveal very little about the design or construction of the girnel. Since Aitken was already mending the girnel's locks in 1705, it would appear that the basic structure was completed by then. Aitken also specifies that a girnel was located at Midhope Castle.[757]

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747 *Ibid.*
748 *Ibid.*
749 *Ibid.*
750 Brunskill, pp. 88, 91, 94.
751 Brunskill, p. 88.
752 Brunskill, pp. 88, 91.
753 Brunskill, p. 91.
754 McKean, 'Galleries,' pp. 22, 26.
755 Liger, p. 12.
756 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by William Aitken Smith,' building account, 1705, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT;
757 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honorabel the Eral of Hoptoun at Hoptoun hous wroght by me William Aitken from the 21 of June 1710 to the last of Decem 1710,' 1710, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT.

This either indicates that Hopetoun's granary was situated at a significant distance from the main house and its outer courtyard—where granaries were typically located—or that there were multiple granaries on the estate. It is impossible to say which was the reality without further documentation. Historical context does tell modern readers that Hopetoun's girnel (or girnels) was stone, was likely situated above the cart-shed (and so inferring that at least one was near Hopetoun's stables), and securely built. While it is impossible to know any further details regarding Hopetoun's girnel, this building was nonetheless part of supporting the estate.

Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been on the influence that agriculture had on the Hopetoun House. Maps from the period show the influence that Hopetoun House had on the country side during the first half of the eighteenth century. Its establishment involved a great deal more than the construction of a large house: it changed the shape of the countryside. The area originally comprised of small fermtouns and was dotted with manoral tower houses. The landscape began to change as early as 1700 with the enclosure of the fields immediately surrounding the house. This pattern continued throughout the early decades of the eighteenth century. By the time William Roy surveyed the area, the entire estate surrounding the main house was enclosed. Hopetoun House was part of the early stages of agricultural improvement. Maps of the region and of the Hopetoun estate show that it was one of the instigators of the modernisation of West Lothian and, of course, of Scotland.

Most of the newly enclosed land of the Hopetoun estate was used for agricultural purposes rather than for pleasure. The formal landscaping at Hopetoun (and surely at other country houses) belied how much of the estate was devoted to farming. This surely was done on purpose in order to give Hopetoun an air of *sprezzatura.* This is underscored by Hopetoun's many agricultural offices, which were built alongside the house. They obviously

played a quintessential role in supporting the household and the estate and showcase the wealth of the owners. Nonetheless, even though the offices were located a short distance from the main house, they were oriented and organised in such a way (near the outer courtyard) as to hide them from plain site because they were dirty and smelly. What would have been immediately visible to Hopetoun’s household and guests were the formal landscape and vistas.

Chapter VII: The Formal Design of Hopetoun's Parks

'Now we come to the Church of this Parish of *Abercorn,* there are no vestigies found now of the Monasterie which *Bede* says was there in his time, which probably was only built of Wood: it was long after this, the Earl of *Duglass* built a Castle here, which was afterwards demolished and is now altogether razed. But in place of it, the Earl of *Hopetoun* has enclos'd a large plot of good Land, and by the advice of his Cousin the Lord *Rankilor,* Sir *William Bruce,* and Mr. *Alexander Edward,* Great Masters in *Architecture* and Contrivance of Avenues Gardens and Orchards, has raised a stately House with Avenues on all Quarters. The Principal Avenue openeth from the East, with Large Office houses and regular planting upon each side: this when the Gates are all open, gives a Prospect through the Inclosures near a Mile long. The House stands in the Center; a large double house with Wings on the South and North sides of it, the Rooms are stately and well contrived, and are suteably furnished: there is a fine Scale-Stair under the Cupola; the Courts are Large, and there are fine Gardens and Orchards about the House, embellished with Water-works and Jettoes: the great Avenue opens at the West towards the Church, to which the Earl has added a Chapel for a Burial place.'[758]

Sir Robert Sibbald from the History of the Sheriffdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling (1710)

Introduction

Agriculture played an important role in shaping Hopetoun's landscape. However, that was not what visitors saw or experienced. Instead, they would have only been exposed to the formal elements of the landscape. Sir Robert Sibbald provides a helpful description of this landscape. Alongside ancient monuments (one described by the Venerable Bede) rose a modern and fashionable design surrounding the centrally located main house. He describes a main avenue leading up to the house on the east with offices (some discussed in the previous chapter) lining both sides; these offices occupied the outer courtyard. Sibbald states that both the inner and outer courtyard were large. The east avenue also drew the eye to distant and expansive prospects. A second avenue extended from the west side of the house to Abercorn Kirk. Gardens and orchards occupied the spaces around

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758 Sir Robert Sibbald, *The History Ancient and Modern, of the Sheriffdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling* (Edinburgh, 1710), 20-1, from *A Collection of Several Treatises in Folio, Concerning Scotland, As it was of Old, and also in later Times* (Edinburgh, 1739), from *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, accessed 4 September, 2018, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/informark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tablD=T001&docId=CW101229902&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FACSIMILE.

the house and avenues, although Sibbald does not specify exactly where and how. Sibbald's passage is important context for the subject of this chapter.

This chapter is concerned with the formal design of Hopetoun's landscape. The function of the landscape changed the closer one got to the main house itself. The landscape immediately surrounding Hopetoun House was composed of fashionable formal parterres to the west and cherry gardens to the east. At a further, albeit walkable, distance were the spaces intended for hunting. Altogether, it is clear that social display and leisure were the two essential elements of the parks surrounding Hopetoun House. On a symbolic level, these outdoor spaces allowed the Hopes to showcase their aristocratic tastes and pursuits to guests. Providing visitors with ample outdoor spaces and activities acted as an important sign of the Hopes' generosity and hospitality; both were important to one's noble status. The dual function of the formal parks surrounding Hopetoun will be explored in two sections.

The first section will discuss the gardens surrounding the main house. This section will act more as a miniature literature review than as an analysis: not only has John Lowrey explored Hopetoun's gardens extensively, a large, unpublished survey of the Bruce-era gardens was carried out in 1995. Nonetheless, a pencil sketch drawn by David Mather, a mason, reinforces the notion that the gardens to the west of Hopetoun were designed as formal parterres. The second section will deal with the ways in which the landscape surrounding the main house was designed to accommodate hunting. Part of this exploration involves exploring the types of office houses that were built to support this activity. This analysis will help to establish the type of hunting that was carried out at Hopetoun. Determining the type of hunting that took place at Hopetoun can explain why the landscape was designed as it was. Furthermore, it can help determine how the Hopes chose to present their nobility since game varied in prestige. Finally, this can contextualise Hopetoun amongst contemporary country houses.

A complex array of sources has been used to write this chapter. In all, Hopetoun's building accounts, contemporary treatises for gardening and country house architecture, and modern scholarly literature are the main resources for this chapter. William Adam's estate plan (circa 1721-1748) cited in the previous chapter will be helpful in trying to pinpoint the original location for these buildings. Little information is otherwise available for most of the buildings and offices discussed in this chapter. In short, this chapter aims to establish the significance of Hopetoun's formal landscape as a functioning space for an aristocratic family rather than from the perspective of theoretical design.

I. The Gardens Surrounding Hopetoun's Main House

Hopetoun House's gardens were an essential aspect of the country seat's noble identity. According to Skinner, Lord Hopetoun took great interest in the formal design of Hopetoun's landscape starting in 1706 and desired to furnish his gardens with lavish waterworks and classical statuary.[759] Before Adam redesigned Hopetoun's landscape in circa 1730, Bruce, Lord Rankeillor, and Alexander Edward were responsible for the designs of Hopetoun's gardens: they were arranged in the French manner, which interspersed carefully planned *parterres* and terraces with long avenues.[760] Howard observes that Hopetoun's *parterre* was arranged in a Greek-cross pattern in four equal parts, echoing the design of the house's floor plan.[761] The geometric gardens were intended to behave as the natural embodiment of Hope family magnificence and the control of their estate. Furthermore, according to Lowrey, thanks to 'Edward having immersed himself in French design and brought it back to Scotland' after the completion of his tour in 1702, Hopetoun's gardens were based on a true understanding of French

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759 Skinner, 'The Country Seat and Vitruvius Scotticus: Hopetoun as the House of State.'

760 John Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity and Britannia on Edge: Landscape Design and the Work of Sir William Bruce and Alexander Edward,' *Architectural Heritage* 23 (2012): pp. 57-74, at pp. 66-7, https://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=8c589e3d-e353-4df1-93bf-92a3ee8769c7%40sessionmgr4004&vid=2&hid=4211.

761 Howard, p. 55.

landscape architectural fashions.[762] Lowrey specifically cites Versailles and St. Germain as possible sources of inspiration for Hopetoun's gardens.[763] The large pond fronting Hopetoun's western façade, referred to as the 'Monners fount' or simply 'the fount' in contemporary building accounts, was part of Bruce's original plans for Hopetoun's extravagant gardens.[764]

A sketch drawn by David Mather between 1705 and 1710 very likely reveals the original designs for Hopetoun's gardens; the drawing certainly corroborates with the survey and research carried out by the Trustees of Hopetoun House Preservation Trust in 1995 (*Figure 7.1*).[765] Mather's drawing depicts a series of rectangular parterres divided by wide avenues and the central *parterre* is dominated by the aforementioned round fountain. The small lines running across the edges of the avenues may have represented trees or hedges, but that is impossible to know without further documentation. However, there are also two small circles placed on the southeast and northwest corners of the first parterre (which would have been the one directly in front of the house), which may signify the original location of the summer houses. Mather and his assistants, Robert Balfour and James Aitkaine, are recorded to have steadily worked on the roofs of 'the two sumer seats' in September, October, and November of 1706.[766] Tobias Bachope also recorded working on 'two summer seats' in the same year.[767] A summer house in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish country houses was 'an outdoor room' that could be 'entered from the upper terrace, was placed

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762 Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity,' pp. 67-8.

763 Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity,' pp. 68-9.

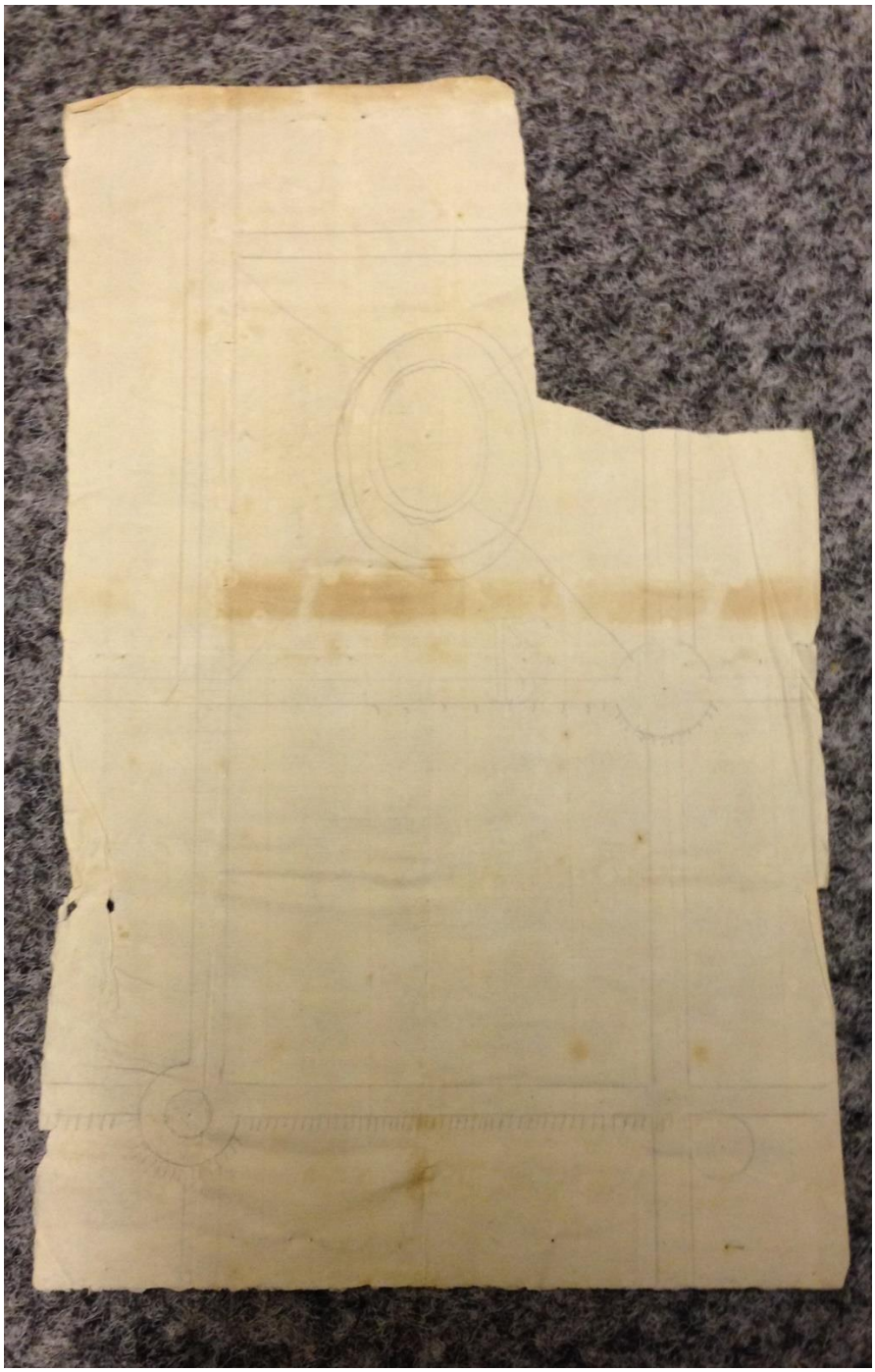
764 Bachope, 'Nover. 12th, 1703 The Measure of Masone work wrought in ye Doge house and dyks att Abercorn'; Tobias Bachope, 'Nober 30th, 1705 The Measure of Masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptoun house done be Tobias Bachope Masone,' building account, 30 November, 1705, bundle 628, HHPT; Skinner, 'The Country Seat and Vitruvius Scotticus: Hopetoun as the House of State.'

765 David Mather, 'David Mather masons accounts all discharged & William Conbrughs,' circa 1705-10, pencil drawing, NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT; Trustees of Hopetoun House Preservation Trust, *The Gardens of Hopetoun: a Story of Development and Change,* unpublished manuscript, pp. 7-8.

766 David Mather, 'Accomptt of days wroght to the Earill of Hoptoun since the 19 of Feberuar 1706 to ye 23 of December 1706 as follous,' 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

767 Tobias Bachope, 'The accompt of Masone work wrought att Hoptoun house by Tobias Bachope masone in ye year 1706.'

to provide a good view,' and was part of the formal garden; both of Hopetoun's could be used for political, recreational, spiritual, and intellectual purposes.[768] The gardens extended beyond Hopetoun's west side.



(*Figure 7.1,* David Mather Sketch of Hopetoun Garden Designs, 1710, pencil drawing)

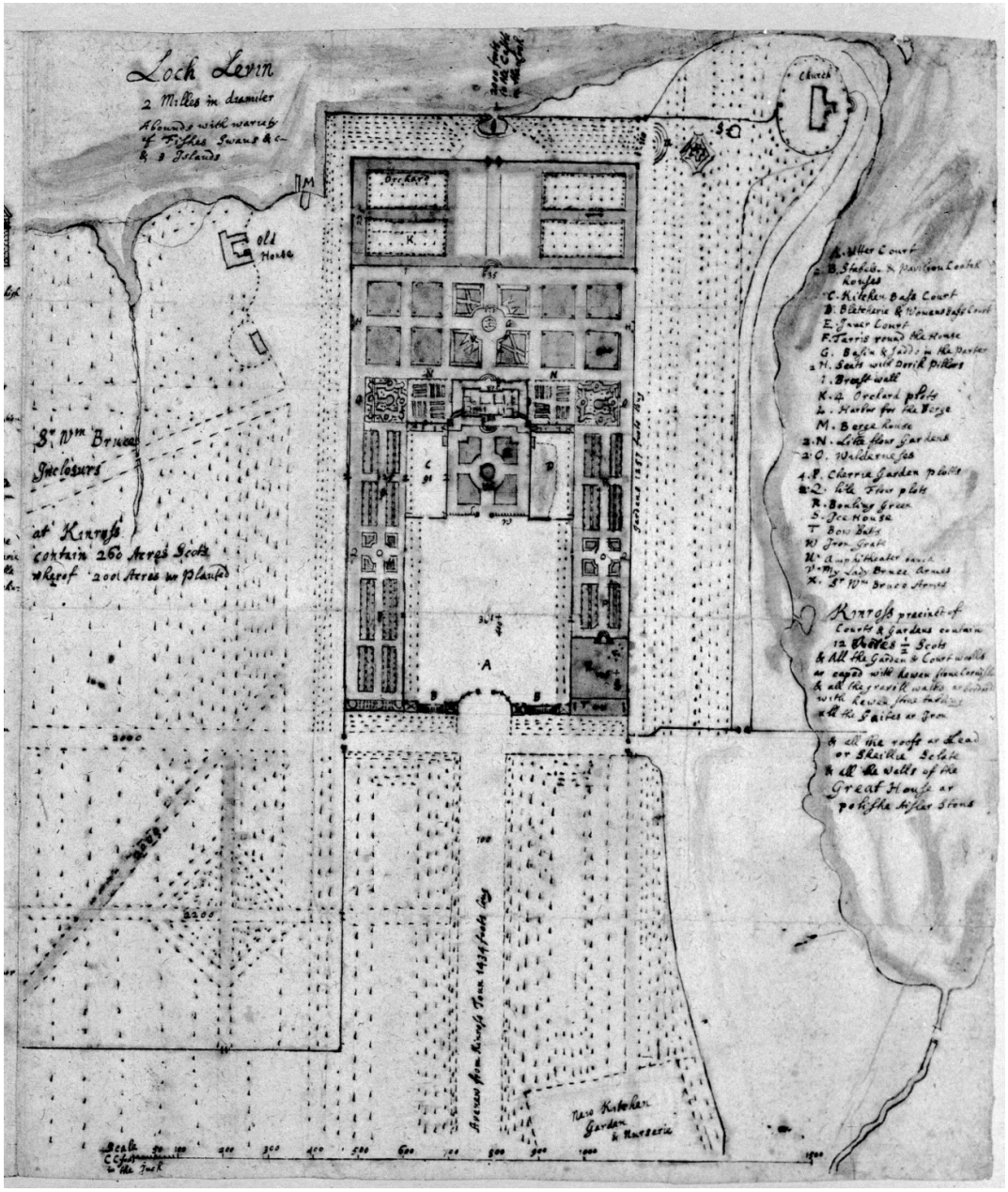
768 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnals, Yards and the Woman House,' pp. 28-9.

The whole of the Hopetoun complex was encompassed in a carefully planned landscape that would showcase the family's immense wealth and prestige. Using archival records, Mather's sketch, and a drawing of the grounds of Kinross House, it is possible to imagine how Bruce designed the landscape immediately surrounding the edifice (*Figure 7.2*).[769] Edward's drawing suggests that Hopetoun's courtyards would not have been sprawling and disorganised as in ages past. Instead, they would have been contained and geometrically organised. The courtyards and the bordering offices were arranged between the house and enclosing walls to the west, north, and south, respectively. The analysis from the previous chapter underscores this notion. Such a level of organisation was a way to lead the cruder parts of the estate to the main house. Furthermore, Hopetoun's north and south cherry gardens were possibly planted in the same fashion as Kinross.[770] Hopetoun's cherry gardens would have spanned both courts and acted as a border between those spaces and the outer walls. It was common for Scottish country houses to have orchards because they not only supplied the household with a ready and varied supply of fruits and nuts, they also added to the prestige of the garden.[771] The order and control of the gardens surrounding the main house was complemented by the grounds situated outside of the walls.

769 Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, 'Estate Plan of Kinross House,' circa 1700, from *Canmore,* ID Number SC 896889 (hi-definition digital image obtained privately via Canmore).

770 Tobias Bachope, 'Nober. 12th, 1703'; Tobias Bachope, '30 Nober, 1705'; David Mather, 'Accomptt of days wrought to the Earll of Hoptoun since the 19 of feberuar 1706 to ye 23 of december 1706 as ffollows.' It should be remembered that Kinross was an important source of inspiration for Hopetoun's design.

771 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnals, Yards and the Woman House,' pp. 19, 22; Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family, and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000, 2004), pp. 209-10.



(*Figure 7.2,* Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, Estate Plan of Kinross House, circa 1700, from *Canmore,* ID Number SC 896889)

As the second chapter summarised, Lowrey notes that the landscape helped the family lay claim to an ancient past and Scottish (or Lothian) roots. The gardens were planned to align with powerful vistas, distant ruins, and cultural sites, such as 'all the Islands of the *Frith* to its Mouth,' Fife, Berwick Law, the ruins of Inchgravie, and Stirling Castle.[772] Lowrey also notes that not

772 Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity,' p. 67; John Macky, *A journey through Scotland. In familiar letters from a gentleman here, to his friend abroad. Being the third volume, which compleats Great Britain. By the author of the Journey thro' England.,* volume 3 (London,

only was the Hopetoun estate once the site of a Roman fort, it was also believed at the time that Abercorn Castle, part of the same property, was once the endpoint of the Antonine Wall.[773] Thus, not only were the Lothians believed to have once been part of ancient Roman Britannia rather than Caledonia, 'the ancient Castle provide[d] a link between the Hopes and the dawn of "civilisation" in Scotland.'[774] Though the house itself was brand new, the belief that the Hopetoun estate was deeply rooted in ancient Scotland/Rome meant that the family claimed that it was the destined inheritors of this rich history. This was a bold, yet poetic, assertion of the family's antiquity. Moreover, the Hope family's use of this motif, though daring, was a much less pompous statement as that created by Bruce for his designs for Kinross House. In displacing the prominence of the ancient Loch Leven Castle to allow his new country seat to dominate the landscape, Bruce asserted that his wealth and *noblesse de robe* status overtook the ancient nobility of the Earls of Morton.[775] By contrast to Hopetoun's vistas, meanwhile, the gardens themselves were designed using the highest fashion of landscape architecture. The gardens were not the only elements of Hopetoun's formal landscape.

II. Hunting at Hopetoun House

An important role that the designed landscape played was providing adequate spaces for hunting. The building accounts very subtly signal the importance of this sport at Hopetoun. It had a kennel and hawk house with an accompanying courtyard; these were two offices that were used exclusively for hunting. A falconer was employed at Hopetoun as early as 1704, when it is recorded that William Aitken was obliged to mend a gun for him and put

1723), p. 201-2, from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* Gale, University of Edinburgh, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tabID=T001&docId=CW102384463&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE (accessed 7 October, 2017).

773 Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity,' p. 70.

774 Lowrey, 'A Prospect on Antiquity,' pp. 70-1.

775 Wemyss, 'Image and Architecture,' pp 124-126.

new shoes on his pony.[776] The falconer lived in his own room, in which David Burton installed a pair of nine-foot-tall casement windows in the spring of 1706.[777] The fact that the hawk house and the kennel were connected by a courtyard is evidenced by the fact that Joseph Forster recorded installing 22 yards of lead pipes in the 'Spaniell & hawk Court' on 5 December, 1704; he installed another ell (approximately three feet) of pipes there on 9 July, 1705.[778] Those pipes were probably used to bring water to the 'bason' in the 'kenell yerd,' thereby indicating that the kennel and hawk house had their own water supply.[779] Tobias Bachope also built a 'Rough stone wall about ye doge [sic] house Court' in the autumn of 1703.[780] These walls served to keep the animals (particularly the dogs) in while simultaneously keeping others (particularly thieves) out.

Now that it is established how these two offices were situated, it is time to try and approximate the original location of this unit of buildings. The previously-cited 1714 building contract for the oxen byre instructs Mather 'to build to his Lordship oxen byres at the foot of dog kennel yeard.'[781] These structures seemed to have shared surrounding walls since Mather was 'to build a wall from the south west corner of dogkennel house to the west dyke of nine foot high.'[782] This contract strongly suggests that the kennel, hawk house, and connecting courtyard were all in the vicinity of one of Hopetoun's

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776 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron and bras work to the right honnorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken Smith begun Octo 1704,' October, 1704, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work wroght to the right Honorabel the Erale of Hoptoun for Hoptoun hous wroght be me William Aitken Smith.'

777 David Burton, 'Accompt The Earle of Hoptoun to David Burton Glasier in Edr,' finished circa September, 1706, this entry from 23 January and 6 September, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght be me William Aitken begun Jan 1714 til Jan 1715.'

778 Unknown Writer (Joseph Forester?), 'Delivered an account to the Honble the Earl of Hopton Oct 6th 1703 came to £27.11s.4d,' begun 6 October, 1703, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

779 Tobias Bachope, 'Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of Hoptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous.'

780 Tobias Bachope, 'November 12th 1703, The Measure of Masone Work wrought in ye Doge house and dyks att Abercorn Belonging to the Earle of Hoptoun Done be Tobias Baick Masone.'

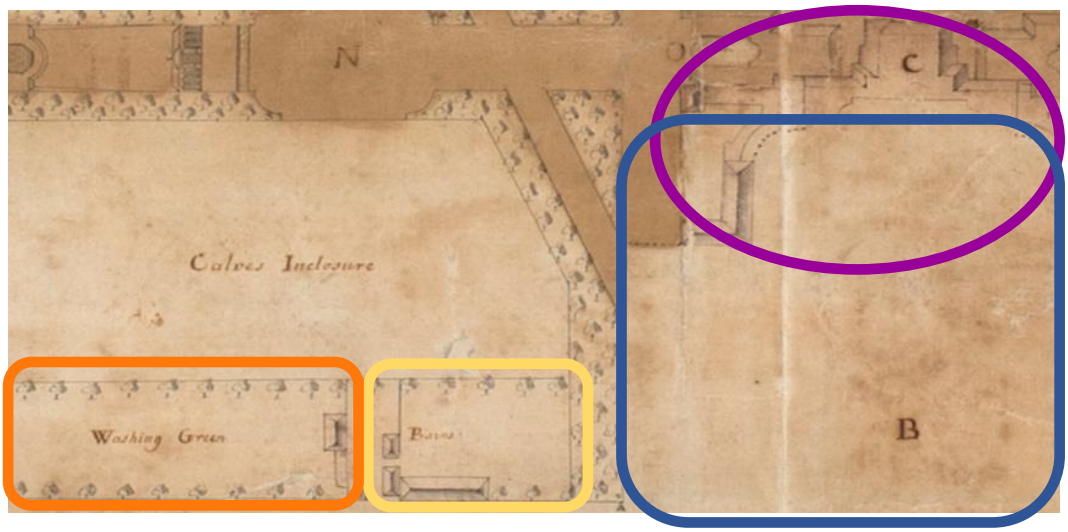
781 William Bradful, 'Agreement btwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather Mason in Kirkhouses,' building contract, 20 February, 1716, NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT.

782 *Ibid.*

byres. Without any further images or documentation relating to the layout and organisation of the parks surrounding Hopetoun's main house, it is difficult to know exactly where this collection of buildings was situated.

However, William Adam's estate plan can provide further insight (*Figures 7.3* and *7.4*). A large courtyard fronts the main house. Immediately to the south of the easterly end of the courtyard are two smaller yards referred to as the 'Washing Green' and the 'Barns,' respectively. Since the 'Calves Inclosure' lies immediately west of the aforementioned yards, it is safe to assume, as the previous chapter argued, that the barns kept cattle and oxen. It is also likely that at least one of the three buildings marked in Adam's plan as barns was the aforementioned oxen byre constructed between 1714 and 1716. As such, the other two buildings therefore could have been the kennel and hawk house. That these structures and their courtyard were in close proximity to the main house underscores that not only would Lord Hopetoun want to show off his dogs and hawks to visitors, they were easily accessible to hunting parties. At the same time, they were at a great enough distance from the main house to shield the animals from that building's activities (and vice-versa), keep them calm, and keep their noise away from the main house. The next matter to take into consideration is an approximate timeline for the construction of the kennel, hawk house, and their courtyard.

(*Figure 7.3,* William Adam Estate Plan. Main House circled in purple. Main avenue circled in red. Deer parks circled in green; north deer park encompasses the wilderness. Washing Green circled in orange. Barns circled in gold. Enclosed fields—the quarry, the sheep park, Stonehill park, and southwest park—circled in light green)



(*Figure 7.4,* Close-up of main house and southern enclosures next to house. Main House circled in purple. Courtyard circled in blue. Barns circled in gold. Washing Green circled in orange. 'Calves Inclosure' above washing green and barns)

The earliest records of the presence of a kennel at Hopetoun are from 1703: William Aitken crafted some minor iron objects for the kennel, including hinging for a door.[783] This would make it seem like the kennel was essentially complete by this point. However, Tobias Bachope simultaneously carried out a number of more extensive projects there. Two structural projects included working on the interior walls of the dog house itself, as well as the walls of its staircase.[784] In addition, Bachope carved the trough for the kennel well and paved its floor.[785] Thus, work on the kennel was mostly complete by 1703. Although building activities occurred at the kennel between 1704 and 1718, they were mainly in the nature of maintenance and repair. Another hunting building constructed in the same vicinity as the kennel was, of course, the hawk house.

The three records relating to the hawk house at Hopetoun House date to 1704, 1707, and 1713. In all three references, William Aitken was obliged

783 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703.'
784 Tobias Bachope, 'November 12th 1703, The Measure of Masone Work wrought in ye Doge house and dyks att Abercorn Belonging to the Earle of Hoptoun Done be Tobias Baick Masone.'
785 *Ibid.*

to make a new key to the building.[786] Although this information is rather scant, it still indicates that there was a hawk house at Hopetoun. Furthermore, that no information has been found regarding its construction infers that the hawk house was completed around or before 1704.

The courtyard of Hopetoun's kennel and hawk house adheres to instructions given by Richard Blome in *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1686) for these spaces:

'Your *Court* should be large, for the more spacious it is, the better it will be for the *Hounds* to refresh them in; and it should be well walled or fenced about to prevent their getting out, but not so high to keep out the *Sun* or *Wind.* The *Water,* if possible, should run through some part of the *Court* or *Yard*; or for want thereof a *Well* with a large *Stone Trough* about a Foot and a half high, always kept with fresh *Water,* to the end your *Hounds* may drink when they please; And at one end of the *Trough* there must be a hole to let out the *Water* for the cleansing it.'[787]

According to Blome, walls around the courtyard were essential for security. At the same time, courtyards still needed to be designed and situated in such a way that would provide the dogs with plenty of sunlight and fresh air. They also needed to contain their own source of water for the sake of the dogs' health. In short, the kennel courtyard at Hopetoun was in keeping with the latest treatises on kennel design. Blome can also provide insight into the basic designs for Hopetoun's kennel despite the fact that there is no further written or visual documentation relating to it.[788] Like the courtyard, Blome advises that kennels ought to give dogs access to 'sweet *Air,* fresh *Water,*

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[786] William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work wroght to the right Honorabel the Erale of Hoptoun for Hoptoun hous wroght be me William Aitken Smith,' August, 1704, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by me William Aitken Smith,' 13 December, 1707, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerable the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken smith this from the first of Jan 1713 to the first of Jan 1714,' building account, 1713, NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT.

[787] Richard Blome, *The Gentlemans Recreation* (London: Printed by S. Rotcroft, 1686) p. 68, from *Early English Books Online*, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12757085&FILE=../session/1520526008_23101&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR (accessed 8 March, 2018).

[788] Blome does not explicitly discuss any basic necessities for the design of hawk houses.

and the Morning *Sun.*'[789] Furthermore, Blome recommends that the structures themselves consist of two rooms, one larger than the other.

The bigger room was meant to house the dogs. Blome states that it should have a fireplace and be raised three feet off the ground, ensuring that it could retain warmth. Specially built bedsteads with individual holes were meant to accomplish keeping dogs warm and comfortable while also allowing any waste and excrement to drain away from the bedstead. Additional gutters in the floor of this room would further help with drainage. A ready-access well in the courtyard clearly had a secondary function in easing and expediting the cleaning of kennels (records show that this existed at Hopetoun's kennel yard). Meanwhile, the second, smaller room was to be a storage room for items and tools relating to the care of dogs.[790] Kennel architecture was pragmatic in that canine care was its principal concern. However, dogs were also important to the image of the estate and its lord. Consequently, kennels were often designed with pomp in mind.[791] Hopetoun's doghouse was given basic classical treatment with a 'Cornish and plinth'; that the kennel was treated with basic classical ornamentation signifies its importance to the country house.[792] Little is written on the architectural traditions of hawk houses, so it is difficult to know what Hopetoun's looked like. Nonetheless, that Lord Hopetoun housed his hawks in an independent building indicates that he kept large numbers of them and invested in the best care he could.[793] These were not the only spaces at Hopetoun devoted to the care and protection of animals.

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789 Blome, p. 68.

790 *Ibid*.

791 Lambton, p. 26-7.

792 Unknown Writer (David Burton?), 'Delivd an accompt to the Hond Charles Hope of Hopton June 6th 1703 for Lead Work done at Hopton house and there remains due to me upon balance of the same thirty four Pounds twelve shillings four Pence Sterling (£34.12s.4d),' 6 June, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

793 For more information regarding contemporary practices for the care of hawks and falcons, see Richard Blome, 'Part II: Hawking and Falconry,' from *The Gentleman's Recreation,* pp. 27-65. It should be noted that the housing of hawks is not discussed in any great detail.

Hopetoun also contained a deer park. Deer, at least in England, were carefully preserved in specially designed parks by the post-Restoration period. This was due to a combination of the extensive habitat loss due to de-forestation and over-hunting.[794] The presence of a deer park at Hopetoun House is documented as early as 1704.[795] Every mention of the deer park in Hopetoun's building accounts between 1704 and 1717 pertains to maintenance work by a blacksmith. Since no description has been found relating to the landscaping and cultivation of the deer park, it can be safely assumed that the deer park was completed and ready for use before 1704. Today, the large field to the northwest of the main house is well known as the deer park and it still keeps a sizeable herd of red deer (*Figures 7.5* and *7.6*). However, this was not the original location of the deer park. According to the aforementioned park memorandum: 'the Dear [sic] Park originally consisted only of the South side, and that has not been plowed since it was first Inclosed; The north side was added to it about the Year 1715.'[796] Once again, William Adam's estate plan can ironically provide helpful insight into the organisation of Hopetoun's parks before his intervention. There were apparently two deer parks at Hopetoun by the time Adam draughted his map of the estate: one lay to the northwest of the house and encircled the wilderness; the other to the southeast (see *Figure 7.3,* also *Figures 7.7* and *7.8*). Despite the fact that Adam refers to it as the 'New Deer Paddock,' it is likely that this was the approximate location of the south deer park.

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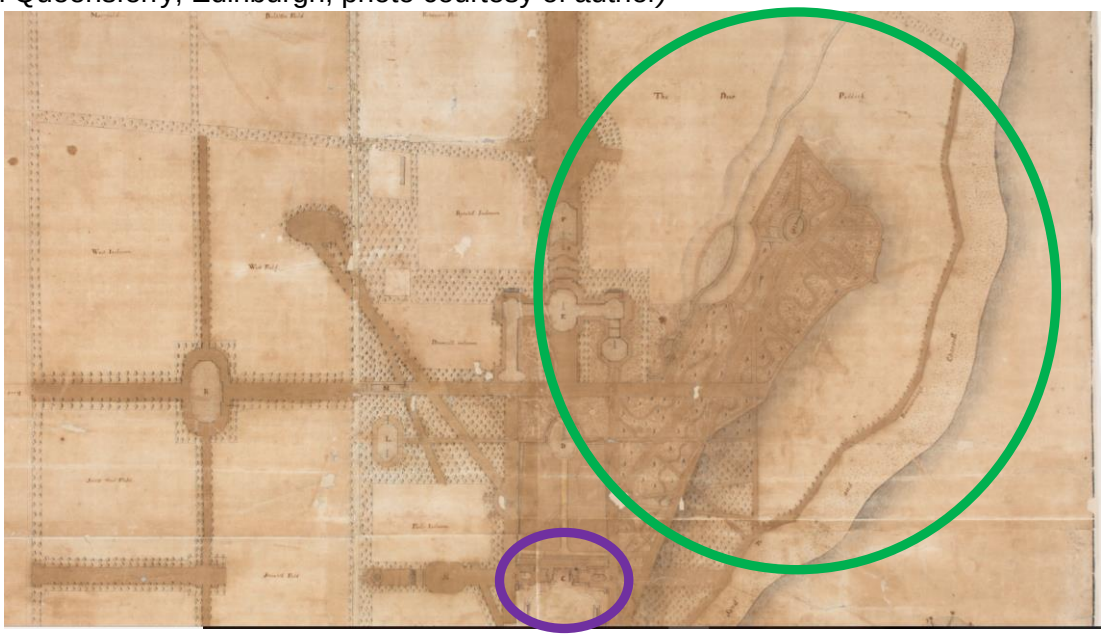
794 Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), particularly 'Chapter Eight: Civil Wars and the Decline of the Deer,' pp. 97-109, and 'Chapter Nine: A New Era Dawns,' pp. 110-23.

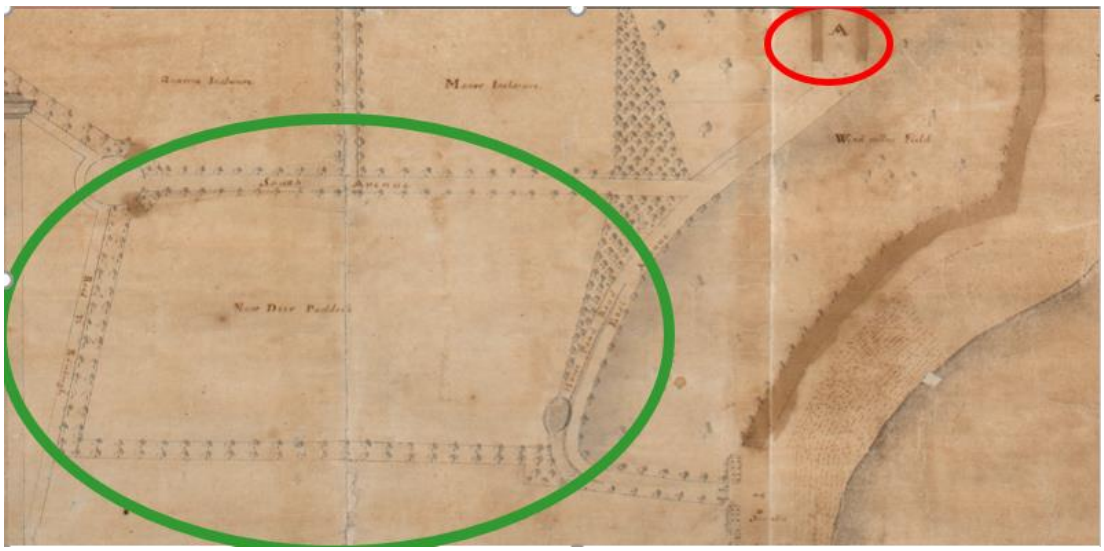
795 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron and bras work to the right honnorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken Smith begun Octo 1704'; William Aitken, 'William Aittkens Acomptt of Smith work, 1704, William Aitken smith grants me to be fuly payd of the within written acompt of the 15 day o august 1704 as witness my hand William Aitken,' 15 August, 1704, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

796 Unknown Writer, 'An Account of the Parks at Hopetoun-house.'

(*Figures 7.5 and 7.6,* Deer Park with Red Deer, 14 July, 2016, Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, Edinburgh, photo courtesy of author*)*



(*Figure 7.7,* Closeup of Hopetoun House Main House and the Deer Park to the North of the Main House*)*



(*Figure 7.8,* Closeup Screenshot of the Deer Park (circled in green) to the South of the Main House. The start of the avenue leading up to the main house is circled in red)

Hopetoun's original deer park thus lay to the southeast of the main house—adjacent to the entrance of the main avenue—between 1699 and 1715. The second deer park to the northwest of the main house was not established until close to a decade after the completion of Bruce's main house, the stables and their ancillary buildings, as well as the kennel, hawk house, and kennel courtyard.[797] Once the northwest deer park was established, it is clear that the south deer park remained into the period of Adam's intervention. In other words, there were two deer parks at Hopetoun House for at least a few decades of the eighteenth century. From the point of view of conspicuous consumption, Lord Hopetoun was not subtle about the fact that he could afford the great expense it took to maintain the parks and the deer population. He even managed to build a deer house by the summer of 1704.[798] Now that it has been established that Hopetoun contained a kennel, hawk house, deer park, and deer house, what remains to be explored is the social significance of these spaces.

797 These will be explored in the final four chapters of this dissertation.

798 William Aitken, 'Wiliam Aittkens Acompt of Smith work, 1704. William Aitken Smith grants me to be fuly payd of the within written acompt the 15 day o august 1704 as witness my hand William Aitken.'

Indeed, this study begs the question as to what type of hunting was carried out at Hopetoun and why it was so important for the Hopes to construct hunting spaces alongside the main house. The Game Act of 1685 provides some insight into the hunting practices and culture of post-Restoration Scotland.[799] Renewing and ratifying previous game laws in Scotland (including one passed by Charles II), this law placed more stringent regulations on who could hunt, how one could hunt, and what one could hunt.[800] The first major clause states: 'all persons who are not heritors are prohibited to hunt and hawk, and that neither heritor nor other shoot deer or roe in time of snow.'[801] By the same token, this law also completely banned the hunting of hare and heron, implying that their numbers were very low by this point in time.[802] Another clause not only forbade pasturage in royal forests, it permitted private and qualified landowners to 'apprehend such as travel with gun or dogs in forests' (those who appeared to be poachers).[803] Beyond these basic parameters, the game act goes into further detail regarding who could hunt and what could be hunted.

All qualified persons were forbidden from killing 'muirfowl [red grouse], heathfowl [black grouse], partridge, quail, duck or mallard, teal [a type of duck] or atteal, or ptarmigan [in the grouse family] from and after the first day of Lent to 1 July yearly.'[804] In other words, this clause limited the hunting of both land- and waterfowl from mid-winter or early spring to mid-summer. The only exception to this rule was that one could hunt waterfowl with hawks if

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799 It should be noted that there is very little detailed scholarship available regarding the hunting practices and culture of post-Restoration Scotland.

800 *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2018), 1685/4/47, http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1685/4/47 (accessed 25 September 2018). This law was renewed by William III in 1698 and Anne in 1705. See: *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2018), 1698/7/159, http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1698/7/159 (accessed 25 September 2018); *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2018), A1705/6/11, http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/A1705/6/11 (accessed 25 September 2018).

801 *Ibid.*

802 *Ibid.*

803 *Ibid.*

804 *Ibid.*

dredging a body of water.[805] It was also forbidden to kill the younglings of black fowl before 1 August yearly (their off-season was the first day of Lent to 1 August).[806] Meanwhile, quail and partridge could not be hunted between the first day of Lent and 1 September yearly.[807] Further limitations were placed on hunting qualifications in that only inheritors worth £1,000 Scots or more (and their servants) could hunt with dogs; this form of hunting also required a special license.[808] Another special license was also required to hunt within six miles of any royal palace in order to protect the populations of royal game.[809] In an effort to stymie illegal poaching, this law prohibited the commercial sale of deer, hares, red and black grouse, ptarmigan, partridge, and quail for the following seven years.[810] A regional official, called the master of game, was permitted to enforce this clause and was expected to search out and penalise these black markets.[811] One of these officers was the one and only Sir William Bruce (then of Balcaskie) representing Kinross.[812] Besides further clauses regarding fishing regulations, these are the chief clauses of the Game Act of 1685. The question remains as to what this law tells modern readers.

A great deal can be pulled from the 1685 game act. One had to be a landowner through inheritance in order to hunt legally; those who purchased land were excluded from this activity. Thus, a certain degree of pedigree was legally required in order to be able to hunt. Furthermore, the ability to hunt with dogs—an essential aspect of the sport in all varieties—was severely limited to the wealthiest echelon. It is clear that hunting was viewed as an exclusive privilege, not a universal right. Deer-hunting was limited to spring, summer, and autumn. A variety of both land- and waterfowl were popular prey and special hunting seasons were also established for them.

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805 *Ibid.*
806 *Ibid.*
807 *Ibid.*
808 *Ibid.*
809 *Ibid.*
810 *Ibid.*
811 *Ibid.*
812 *Ibid.*

Establishing designated hunting seasons helped to preserve game populations. Given how limited hunting actually was, it is clear that the purpose behind any legal efforts to protect Scotland's game population was due to a desire to preserve numbers for the hunting-hungry elite. Furthermore, the high level of autonomy granted to private landowners over (alleged) poachers indicates that game did not possess *Res nullius* status in Scots law.[813] Instead, it was considered the property of landowners. Although social restrictions on hunting were not quite the same in Scotland as they were in England, they were still put in place to preserve animal populations for the pleasure of land-owning aristocrats.[814] In fact, it is clear based on the 1685 game act that hunting was an exclusive activity for the elite and that a variety of animals were deemed proper for aristocratic sport.

The Game Act of 1685 also underscores why the Scottish aristocracy considered hunting such an important sport. Without measures to try and preserve game populations, not only did the law claim that there would be 'a danger of utter decay of so useful creatures, but the manly exercise of hunting and hawking [would] likely to be altogether neglected.'[815] The fact that the endgame of hunting resulted in an edible prize was a bonus. More important to its practitioners was that it was considered a key method for a gentleman to showcase the characteristics associated with proper noblemen. Indeed, 'at its heart, hunting involves an attempt to pit human wits against the wiles of the natural world.'[816] Hunting represented an aristocrat's dominance over his land, his strength and vigour; this sport was the emblem of noble masculinity. Richard Blome sums up this philosophy best:

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813 In Roman law, *Res nullius* is the idea that property belongs to no one. Within the confines of hunting laws, it meant that one could keep hunted game no matter where it was killed. However, Scotland (as well as England) did not make use of this system: both countries had laws protecting the game on an individual's property. In other words, one could hunt on his or her own property but had no right over the kills on another's property. However, ownership of land determined the rights to hunting in Scotland rather than a royal grant. Furthermore, game was not considered property like livestock. Instead, ownership of the game depended on the kill. For more information, see: Griffin, pp. 5-7.

814 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 214.

815 *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds.

816 Griffin, p. 5.

‘To tell you that *Hunting* is a commendable *Recreation,* and hath always ben practiced and highly prized by all *Degrees* and *Qualities* of *Men,* even by *Kings* and *Princes*; that it is a great preserver of *Health,* a Manly *Exercise*, and an increaser of *Activity*; that it recreates the *Mind*, strengthens the *Limbs*, and whets the *Stomach*; and that no *Musick* is more charming to the *Ears* of *Man,* than a *Pack* of *Hounds* in full *Cry* is to him that delights in *Hunting,* is to tell you that which experimentally is known, and what hath been sufficiently treated by others.’[817]

The grandest forms of the sport descended from *par force* hunting, which involved a small group of mounted hunters and their dogs chasing after an animal (a boar or deer in the medieval period) until exhaustion before killing it.[818] *Par force* was considered the noblest form of the sport as ‘it was a glorious visual display of a great landowner’s many dogs, his fine steed and, of course, his own skill at remaining in the saddle. It provided him with the opportunity to demonstrate his wealth, status and skill in the way so prized by the medieval nobility.’[819] Its nobility lay not in the end-prize, but its ostentation.[820] Besides horses, both dogs and hawks were trained for hunting. Consequently, they were integral to both the good image and the pleasure of the country house—hence their specially designed accommodations. Since hunting was seen as good exercise for the body, mind, and spirit of a gentleman, it was seen as the best way to train a young man’s martial prowess in preparation for war.

Furthermore, the animals involved in hunting—particularly dogs—attained an honourable status on a gentleman’s estate. Blome advises that dogs ‘should be cherish’t as Instruments of your *Recreation*, that they may delight in your Service, and taste of your Bounty, and then doubt not but to have credit of them in the *Field.*’[821] In other words, good care and attention resulted in a dog’s best performance on the field. That owners did invest so much time, money, and energy in hunting dogs only serves to underscore further the importance hunting held in the minds of aristocrats. Much effort

817 Blome, p. 67.
818 Griffin, p. 7.
819 Griffin, pp. 8-9.
820 Griffin, p. 8.
821 Blome, p. 68.

was also spent in breeding the ultimate hunting dogs, as well. There were two main types of hunting dogs: spaniels were bred to hunt land- and waterfowl; and hounds (particularly greyhounds) were bred to chase and coarse 'foure footed beastes' (from deer to hare).[822] The descendants of *par force*—chasing and driving—that were practiced in the early modern period required the latter type of dog due to their natural abilities for speed and endurance.

In essence, hounds would spot their target and chase after it until it collapsed. The hounds' master would subsequently follow up on horseback and prey upon the target's exhaustion.[823] This was an activity that required a great deal of land in order to be carried out properly. Landowners were also encouraged to cultivate diverse terrains in their parkland in order to allow a variety of animals to thrive.[824] Good habitats were essential because 'the parke [was] a place that must containe all things for the good and safetie of the game it keepeth.'[825] Not only were parklands designed to centre around maximising the growth in population of desirable game, they were also designed to maximise pleasure. Large and diverse terrains added to the thrill of the chase and added to the hunters' challenge. Consequently, a good park for hunting contributed to a lord's status and the prestige of his country house. However, hunting culture started to shift as a consequence of the turbulence of the mid-seventeenth century.

While hunting continued to carry these aristocratic connotations into the post-Restoration period, the choice in game had changed greatly. Part of this had to with the fact that the esteemed wild boar had long since been hunted to extinction across Britain. In England, at least, the deer had also attained an awkward status by this time. A perfect storm of events resulted in the

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822 Gervase Markham, *Maison Rustique* (London: Printed by Adam Fflip for John Bill, 1616), pp. 673-82, from *Early English Books Online*, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99856540&FILE=../session/1520937355_21842&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR (accessed 7 March, 2018).

823 Markham, p. 673.

824 Markham, p. 668.

825 Markham, p. 669.

severe degradation of private deer parks and forests during the decades of the Civil Wars and Protectorate.[826] Civilian looters and looters from the Parliamentary army pillaged for timber and game meat; the government and private landowners disafforested their properties for ready profit; royalist properties, including deer parks, were confiscated and sold; landowners enclosed woodland once used for hunting and converted it to farmland.[827] As a result, native deer populations suffered greatly and the effort to build their numbers back to pre-war quantities was a losing battle—especially given the fact that landowners increasingly felt the need to capitalise on the entirety of their estates.[828] Few felt that deer parks were an affordable luxury by the late seventeenth century.[829] If a gentleman wanted to enjoy a traditional deer-hunt, semi-tame and specially bred deer (not wild deer) were brought in for the purpose and let loose. Mounted hunters and their dogs chased after the deer as they had done in centuries past. However, this modern form of deer-hunting lacked one key element: the kill. Due to the deer's value, it could only be captured and returned to its home.[830] Because deer-hunting was denigrated to such a bland and docile status, deer-hunting lost its aristocratic connotations.[831] Deer were not even included in game acts passed in England after the Restoration.[832]

Instead, deer became a landowner's property. According to Emma Griffin:

'Although stretches of royal forests and private woodland survived throughout the eighteenth century and beyond, they no longer offered the kind of sport that earlier generations had enjoyed. Deer remained a high-status possession, valuable both as a symbol of gentle status and for their venison. They graced the country's diminishing forests and private parks in a largely ornamental capacity, and with the virtual disappearance of wild populations of deer, the fiction that park owners "hunted" was finally laid to rest.'[833]

826 Griffin, p. 100.
827 Griffin, pp. 100-4.
828 Griffin, pp. 104-6
829 Griffin, p. 106.
830 Griffin, pp. 106-7.
831 Griffin, p. 107.
832 Griffin, pp. 108.
833 Griffin, pp. 107-8.

The role of deer shifted from the most highly prized game to specially bred, quasi-agricultural commodities. Although they were extremely valuable as property, they were no longer desirable objects of sport. It is difficult to say whether a similar phenomenon occurred in Scotland since little cohesive scholarship has been carried out on its hunting practices and culture during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. That the deer was included in Scotland's 1685, 1698, and 1705 game acts implies that the animal was still considered viable game during the post-Restoration period. Nonetheless, the deer was the only mammal included on the laws' long list of legal game; the rest were fowl. Thus, even if the deer still held some degree of importance, it is clear that Scottish sportsmen had diverse interests and had begun to gravitate to fowl and small game.[834] The question remains as to how all this background information is relevant to Hopetoun House.

First and foremost, it has already been made clear that the parks immediately surrounding the Bruce-era Hopetoun ultimately contained two deer parks. However, it is important to note that they were not extensive and boundless woodlands but were rather relatively small and contained enclosures. This would not have been conducive to deer-chasing with hawks, which contrarily required a great deal of unenclosed land. Hopetoun's deer parks were likely like those south of the border: they kept herds of deer and allowed them to breed in a safe environment. Not only did this provide the Hopes with a ready supply of venison, but it was a quintessential status statement.[835] However, it is definite that the Hopes partook in small-game

834 Griffin, pp. 110, 115-6.

835 It should be noted that foxhunting took place in England from the sixteenth century. However, it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that foxhunting became a formalised sport, with origins in Leicestershire, Rutland, and Northamptonshire. It achieved its wild levels of popularity by the turn of the nineteenth century. As such, it is not likely that foxhunting occurred at Hopetoun. Foxhunting also required specially bred hounds and large, open expanses. While there are plenty of records of Hopetoun keeping spaniels, no records about whether the Hopes kept hounds have been found. This casts further doubt as to whether foxhunting occurred at Hopetoun at the turn of the eighteenth century. It is likely that the only type of hunting that took place at Hopetoun was the chase and hawking of wild fowl. For more information on the development of the sport of foxhunting, see Emma Griffin, 'Chapter Ten: Hunting the Fox: 'fascinating and soul stirring sport,' *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 124-40.

hunting given the fact that spaniels and hawks were kept there. In addition, the previous chapter established how a great deal of the parkland surrounding Hopetoun were enclosed into fields for agricultural purposes. This also created the perfect arena for the hunting of fowl—not only would crops attract game, but there was plenty of open space for various game birds to live and breed. Contemporary accounts give an idea as to how this type of hunting would have been carried out at Hopetoun. As a category, spaniels were individually split into two groups: land-spaniels hunted in fields and forests for partridges, quails, and the like; and water-spaniels hunted in and near water for ducks and other waterfowl.[836] Gervase Markham describes these dogs as loving and gentle in nature with a sharp sense of smell, a strong build, and keen curiosity.[837] Those three characteristics made them the ideal breed to investigate every nook and cranny of the wilderness, smelling and stalking out their prey.[838]

Spaniels' nature meant that they could easily be trained to alert their owners to the presence of fowl without killing and eating the target themselves.[839] There was an established process for hunting fowl. After finding the target, a spaniel would 'whimp[er] and whin[e] to give his master a warning of what he scenteth, and to prepare himselfe and his hauke for the pleasure he seeketh, and when he is assured of his game, then to quest out loudly and freely.'[840] Essentially, a spaniel would announce the location of the prey once he sniffed it out and a hawk would kill it once it sprung from its hiding place. Spaniels and hawks worked together, under the command of their master, during the hunt. Richard Blome was more explicit in his explanation of this process: the hunter had to 'be prepared with bout four or five Couple of *Spaniels* that are good Rangers, and such as will hunt at command in compass; whose motion you are to follow on *Horse-back* with your *Hawk* on your Fist, so that you may be ready to cast her off upon their

836 Markham, pp. 680, 682.
837 Markham, p. 679.
838 *Ibid.*
839 Markham, p. 679; Blome, p. 60.
840 Markham, p. 679.

springing any.'[841] The hunters would follow the spaniels on horseback, with hawks hooded and perched on their arms. With the spaniels' signal, the hunters would release the hawks into the air to kill their target.

Not only did owners have to spend a great deal of time, energy, and money on keeping both types of animals, they had to train them to perform this ritual as perfectly and efficiently as possible. While well-trained dogs were essential to the hunt, an equally important skill was being able to train a hawk well and use her successfully.[842] Spaniels and hawks were quite the dynamic duo: together, they allowed a hunting party to kill elusive fowl swiftly and deftly. It was therefore sensible to house the hawks and spaniels in the same vicinity. They had to have a good working chemistry since their roles were so intertwined.[843] In keeping hawks and spaniels, specifically, Lord Hopetoun (and most likely other family members and guests) had all the provisions he needed to hunt land and water-fowl. Hunting in this fashion showcased Lord Hopetoun's wealth and resources, his mastery over his land and the beasts that lived on it, his martial prowess, and his strategic acumen. These structures and designed landscape presented Lord Hopetoun as the ideal sporting aristocrat.

Conclusion

As it was with country houses across Western Europe, formal landscape was design was essential to Hopetoun House. Well-planted and organised gardens allowed the Hopes to showcase their wealth and cosmopolitan taste. It was also permitted outdoor leisure for both the family and guests. However, formal landscape design extended well beyond the confines of carefully designed gardens: it had long been used to create the proper arena for hunting. Hopetoun had extensive enclosed fields that were

841 Blome, p. 33.
842 Catherine Bates, 'George Turberville and the Painful Art of Falconry,' *English Literary Renaissance* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2011): pp. 410, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43447969. Female hawks or falcons were ideal because they are bigger, fiercer, and more aggressive than their male counterparts. See Bates, p. 410.
843 Blome, pp. 39, 59-60.

used for agriculture. At the same time, these were ideal spaces for fowl to live and breed. Two of Hopetoun's offices were a hawk house and a kennel, both of which were connected by a courtyard; the building accounts specifically cite spaniels as being kept in this area. Spaniels and hawks were used together alongside mounted huntsmen in tracking and killing both land- and waterfowl. Given the above information, it seems clear that much of Hopetoun's parks were used for the hunting of land fowl, as well as for agriculture.

Meanwhile, there were also two deer parks at Hopetoun. Since these were comparatively small enclosures—and deer-chasing required the opposite type of landscape—it is not likely that deer-hunting took place at Hopetoun. Instead, Hopetoun's deer parks likely played an ornamental role: they showcased the Hopes' ability to set aside a portion of their property for keeping deer. Although this was quasi-agricultural, it must be remembered that it was illegal to sell deer products commercially at this time. Thus, these deer parks were wholly unproductive; they were status statements. The entire formal landscape had two chief purposes. The first of these was to accommodate for the Hopes' leisurely pursuits, which were typical of post-Restoration Scottish aristocrats. The second and closely related function was that the formal landscape had to showcase the Hopes' status and wealth. The pastimes they followed, such as hunting, was an important aspect of the design. Hopetoun's formal landscape existed alongside (and sometimes doubly as) the agricultural landscape. Hopetoun's main house clearly had to manage a complex network of activities. Since the main house was also the epicentre of the entirety of the Hopetoun estate (not simply the surrounding landscape), Bruce had to design it to function symbolically and functionally as the Hopes' headquarters. The next chapter will explore the main house's design and how it came to be.

Chapter VIII: Hopetoun House's Building Contract

As the previous chapters underscore, the vast majority of the Hopetoun House complex was devoted to the designed landscape—both formal and agricultural. That separate contracts were most likely produced for every structure on the estate (down to humble byres) underscores the amount of work that went into its planning and construction. Despite the fact that it took up a comparatively small amount of space, the main house was Hopetoun House's most important building on the estate. As the Hopes' country seat, it provided accommodation for the Hope family and household and also acted as the estate's political and economic centre. The building contract that initiated the house's construction was signed on 29 December, 1698 between Lady Margaret Hope (in the name of Charles Hope), Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, Sir William Bruce, the architect, and Tobias Bachope, the mason. The significance of the main house is underscored by its length (the contract is written on over four feet of paper) and the intense level of detail that was used to describe Bruce's designs. Not only can this contract be used to explore the intersection of legal and construction history, the document's advanced and fluent use of classical building terminology tells the modern reader a great deal about the level of knowledge and understanding of the terminology of classical architecture in Lowland Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century (much higher than historians of British architecture have previously claimed).[844] However, there is not enough space in this dissertation to explore those avenues.

Since Sir William Bruce's original draughts do not survive (or are lost within the archives themselves), this chapter is instead concerned primarily with the fact that this document describes Bruce's original design. It should be noted that since the contract continually cites Bruce's draughts for the house, Bachope obviously made use of them when building the house. An examination of the original design is especially important since previous

[844] It should be noted that, as this analysis will make abundantly clear, the meanings of certain terms have changed between 1698 and 2019.

authors (namely Rowan and Macaulay) have described disparities between the designs that were recorded in 1698 and the images that were published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1717. The only way to carry out this exploration properly is to make a detailed analysis of the contract. Craigiehall House and Kinross House will be important to this study since they are both referenced continually in Hopetoun's building contract. The most useful sources for any discussion of Kinross will be the previously-cited Alexander Edward draughts, as well as photographs. While photographs will also be useful in discussing Craigiehall, its original building contract (signed in February, 1698) also survives in Hopetoun's archives. A cross-analysis of these three country houses can help modern readers come to better terms with Bruce's design for Hopetoun House.

In addition, the contract describes the practical aspects of Hopetoun's construction, such as how the materials would be obtained, how Tobias Bachope and his workmen would be paid, and the expected pace of work. Despite the fact that this chapter will not focus on the general background of building contracts, it will still be important to explore Hopetoun's contract within the proper historical context to judge whether or not Hopetoun was a unique or particularly special project or not. In addition to the Craigiehall contract, a number of post-Restoration Scottish contracts assembled by J.G. Dunbar and Katherine Davies will also be helpful in this regard.[845] In terms of its language and format, Hopetoun's building contract was typical. However, the contract for Hopetoun's main house was unique in its scale and detail. This chapter will be split into one section with four sub-sections. The first three will be devoted to the design aspects of Hopetoun's building contract. The fourth will deal with the logistical aspects of the contract. This will help guide the reader through this dense document.

I. The Contract's Description of Sir William Bruce's Designs

[845] J.G. Dunbar and Katherine Davies, eds., 'Some Late Seventeenth-Century Building Contracts,' from Scottish History Society, *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society: Eleventh Volume,* vol. 11 (Edinburgh: Pillars & Wilson Ltd., 1990), pp. 269-327.

The purpose behind the contract's in-depth description of the house was to outline what Tobias Bachope was expected to do. Such a detailed description could have acted as a helping hand for Bachope alongside the original draughts. It is also possible that such a detailed overview ensured that Bachope was legally bound to carry out what was considered to be the most complicated aspects of the design. In other words, both parties kept to the principle of putting everything down in writing as a safeguard. However, the use of such a high level of detail in building contracts was not typical for the period. Of those assembled by Dunbar and Davies, the only contracts that had vaguely detailed descriptions were those for Coldingham Church, the harbour and tolbooth at Whithorn in Wigtownshire, Gallery House (built by Thomas Wilkie) near Montrose, a bridge over the River Clyde near Abington in Lanarkshire (built by Robert Mylne), and Mylne's Square (developed by Robert Mylne) in Edinburgh.[846] However, even these are not as concerned with issues of ornamentation as Hopetoun's building contract is.

Craigiehall's is the only other contract found by this author that comes close to the same level of detail as Hopetoun's. The most likely explanation is that Craigiehall and Hopetoun were grander and more prestigious projects in general—especially given the fact that they were designed by post-Restoration Scotland's premiere architect. As will be seen, Craigiehall was designed with similar ornamentation to Hopetoun's. Since both houses were intended to be ornamented, this matter was included in their building contracts; smaller projects did not need that level of precision. Although Bachope and his workmen were clearly well-versed in classical building terminology, strictly classical architecture was still relatively new to Scotland. Descriptions of ornamentation would have been a helpful legal tool to ensure that Bachope and his workmen kept to Bruce's draughts. Having explored this basic aspect of Hopetoun's building contract, it is finally time to go through it and decipher what Bruce's original designs were.

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[846] Dunbar and Davies, eds., pp. 281-4, 285-9, 295-9, 305-8, 316-21.

i. The Main House's Basic Form

The first major clause of the contract is a very general description of the size that the edifice was to take. Bachope was directed to construct two 12' square, 28' high pavilions.[847] Tobias Bachope was also directed 'to Build two office houses, Each of them Eightie four foot in length twenty four foot in breadth and Nyntein foot in height.'[848] Based on the floor plan studied extensively in the third chapter, these office houses were the wings that projected from the pavilions to the north and south. It was then requested of Bachope to construct a house that was 80' from east to west and 87' from north to south.[849] The house was also to be 38.5' high 'above the Terrasse [sic] and seven foot under the Terrasse.'[850] The measurements are simple enough to understand—the total height of the house was to be 45.5', with the basement storey occupying the seven foot portion underneath what the contract calls the "terrace." Craigiehall's building contract can provide further insight into how this clause can be interpreted.

Craigiehall was directed to be 64' long, 46' wide, 28' high above the ground, and six feet 'under ground.'[851] Bachope was then directed to build the house in the finest ashlar work. The 'first seven foot high theirof in rustic Cutt stones' and a 'plinth' taking up the bottom foot of it.[852] In other words, the first seven feet of the 28'-high portion of the house was rusticated. One of the contemporaneous definitions for plinth was 'the projecting part of the wall of a building, immediately above the ground.'[853] Therefore, what is referred to as a "plinth" in this contract is a projecting base at the bottom of the rustic

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847 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 7-8. See Appendix E for a transcription of the Hopetoun Building Contract.
848 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 51-3.
849 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 11-2.
850 Hopetoun Building Contract, line 13-4.
851 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 6-7. See Appendix F for a transcription of the Craigiehall Building Contract.
852 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 14-5.
853 [OED], 'plinth, n.,' *OED Online*, June 2017, Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/145854?redirectedFrom=plinth (accessed September 25, 2017).

storey (*Figure 8.1*). More importantly, the seven-foot tall rustic continued to extend six feet under the ground, which means that Craigiehall had a thirteen-foot-high, semi-subterranean basement.[854]

(*Figure 8.1,* William Bruce, Craigiehall House, 1699, near South Queensferry, UK, photograph taken by author)

Returning to Hopetoun, it seems logical to infer that it was a 38.5’ tall house that extended seven feet underground. However, the dividing line for Hopetoun House was not ground level but rather “terrace” level. The term, “terrace,” must reference the large platform—which was discussed in the third chapter—that stretches across the main house’s east façade in between the north and south pavilions (see *Figures 3.1* and *3.2*). Suddenly, the contract makes more sense when interpreting the term “terrace” as the east

854 Craigiehall Building Contract, line 7.

façade platform. The main block was originally designed to be 38.5' above and seven feet under the platform. As it was with Craigiehall, the basement at Hopetoun was only semi-subterranean. The contract states several lines later that the Low story above the Terrasse' was to be made of 'Rustic work.'[855] In other words, the portion of the basement above the platform was directed to be rusticated. The terrace was therefore a point of vertical division for the main house: while the rustic portion of the basement was situated on top of the terrace, the basement extended another seven feet below it. The basement storey (or ground storey, as it was referred in the contract) was to be 'twelve or threttein foot high from floor to floor at the option of the said Charles Hope.'[856] Since the bottom seven feet of the basement storey was below the terrace, the top five or six feet was intended to occupy Hopetoun's rustic. With a current total height of just over 11' (a measurement that was surveyed by Dr Leo Schmidt of Cottbus University), the basement was and is partly subterranean.[857] While the main body of Hopetoun was intended to be 38.5' high, the height of the terrace platform indicates that the basement only extended three and a half feet under the ground rather than seven. In short, only the bottom three and a half feet of Hopetoun's basement storey was underground and the next three and a half feet was covered by the terrace-platform.

The understanding of what the terrace was establishes the meaning of other clauses of the contract, too. One clause of Hopetoun's contract states: 'the stairs within the house, Pavilions, and officehouses with the rest of the Stairs wtout the house from the Inner Court and Garden to the Terrasses.'[858] Based on Hopetoun's floor plan published in *Vitruvius Britannicus,* there were

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855 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 23-4.

856 It should be noted that from here on out, the term basement and ground storey are interchangeable. The first storey is the principal floor or *piano nobile.* Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 14-5.

857 Anita Farnusch, 'Wie viel Bruce steckt in einem Adam? Rekonstruktion der ersten Bauphasen des Kellergeschosses von Hopetoun House [How much Bruce is in an Adam? Reconstruction of the first phase of the basement of Hopetoun House],' from Anke Kuhrmann/Leo Schmidt (Hg.), *Forschen Bauen & Erhalten,* Lerhstuhl Denkmalpflege, BTU Cottbus (GmbH, Berlin/Bonn: Westkreuz-Verlag, 2009/10).

858 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 73-5.

staircases in the pavilions and office houses, as this clause states. More importantly, Bachope was to build the stairs that lead from the forecourt and gardens to the east and west entrances, which were built at the same level as the aforementioned platform. Thus, this clause came to fruition. There is another clause that states: 'the Stair from the Terrasse to the Vestible as it is Designed for ane Iron: Raill with a stair under it to goe to the offices in the ground story.'[859] This is another confusing direction as it initially seems to refer to the staircase to the south of the great stair with the curled, iron handrail.

Instead, knowing that the terrace was the façade platform makes it clear that the contract refers to the sweeping staircase that leads from the platform to the frontispiece, which was directed to have iron rails. The staircase was also supposed to split off and lead down to the service areas in the basement storey. This is significant since the *Vitruvius Britannicus* floor plan only shows the principal storey, which gives readers an inkling of what the basement was like. Finally, Bachope was directed to 'build ane Terrasse wall of three foot and a half in height Comprehending the Cope above the Court & Parter round the house with hewen Cope.'[860] The use of the term "wall" is misleading, here. Again, it appears to mean that Bachope was directed to build a short wall that would encircle the main house and office houses. However, it is more likely that this clause refers to the aforementioned platform, which was meant to spread outwards from the house above the forecourt and parterre. The third chapter of this dissertation has already stated that terrace platforms were a common feature of country houses.

In short, the contract describes a semi-subterranean, rusticated basement storey. A three and a half foot-tall platform was to span both façades and sweeping staircases would connect the ground level to the east and west entrances via said platform. This correlates with the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engravings (see *Figures 3.1* and *3.2*). The next matter of concern

859 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 76-8.
860 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 85-6.

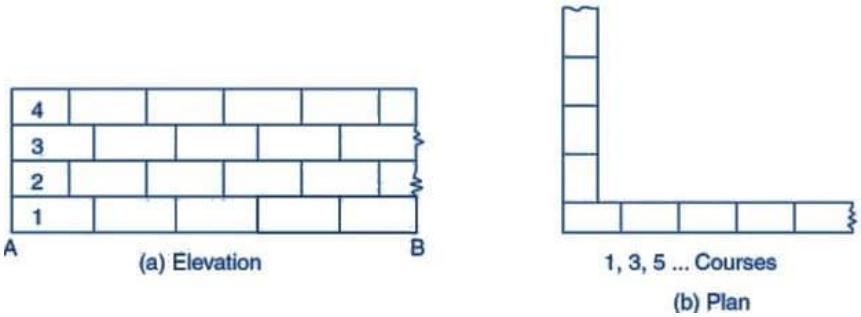
is how the 38.5' portion of the house above the terrace was organised vertically. However, the contract is not entirely clear on this matter. Since the contract is so vague in describing the heights of the storeys within the main house, it seems that these details were left up to Lady Margaret's and Charles Hope's decision later on in the building process. If the house was always intended to have a principal, second, and attic storey, the intended height would have split pretty evenly (between ten and thirteen feet) into three storeys.

The contract also discusses the measurements and style of masonry that would be used in constructing the house. The contract states that 'the Gabells next the body of the Main house in fine Aisler and rustic Corners' were to be 'fourteen inches and 21 Inches long, Outband and Inband, and a foot of height each Course in fine, smooth, Cutt work.'[861] In other words, each corner of the house was to be accentuated by rusticated quoins. The header of each quoin was to be fourteen inches long, each stretcher was to be 21 inches long, and every block was to be one foot in height. Given the fact that quoins appear in the engraving of the entrance façade, as well as the present west façade, this clause came to be. The contract proceeds to direct that the walls of the principal storeys be of 'fine plain Aisler, closs bedded, & so Closs Joynted That the Lyme cannot appear or be seen, and alse [sic] Smooth as any paper.'[862] As a side note, the principal storeys of Craigiehall were also designed to be built in ashlar stone and the contract describes this feature using the exact same language.[863] In other words, the principal storeys of both houses were designed to be built of smooth ashlar masonry that stood above rusticated basements. Contracts clearly used certain terms and phrases to help readers understand an architect's designs. In addition to the proportions discussed above, the contract shows that the house was to be rusticated and ashlar with quoins at each corner. Hopetoun's building

861 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 56-8.
862 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 27-8.
863 'And all the rest of the walls fine plaine aisler closs bedded and so closs Joynted as the Lyme cannot appear or be seen, and smooth as any paper.' See Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 16-7.

contract continues to get more specific about how the house was to be constructed. However, this is where it starts to become clear that there are, indeed, disparities between Hopetoun's design and construction.

The whole of the house was to be executed in stone wherein 'Each Course of ane foot higth breecking bond exactly in the midle.'[864] In other words, the contract not only prescribes that the size of the stones would be one foot high, the masons were also to use a stretcher bond method to construct the house (*Figures 8.2* and *8.3*).[865] Using this information, it is possible to divulge the height of the house and its individual storeys. The first storey is actually currently fifteen courses tall and the second storey is fourteen courses tall (see *Figure 3.5*). Thus, they are fifteen feet tall and fourteen feet tall, respectively. In addition, the current rustic of the west façade is seven courses tall, which means it is seven feet tall. Clearly, some adjustments were made to the heights and proportions of the house at some point during the middle of construction since Hopetoun—at 36' from ground plinth to top course below the eaves—became quite a bit taller in reality than its original design prescribed. This indicates that design and construction were not necessarily "set in stone," but were together rather a flexible business. This is not the only area of Hopetoun's that changed at some point during construction.



(*Figure 8.2,* Diagram of Stretcher Bond, from *The Constructor*)

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864 Hopetoun Building Contract, line 28-9.

865 Diagram of Stretcher Bond, from *The Constructor*, https://theconstructor.org/building/types-bonds-brick-masonry-flemish-english-wall/11616/ (accessed 9 July, 2018).

(*Figure 8.3,* Corner of South and West facades of Hopetoun House, which are the most in-tact Bruce exteriors. This corner demonstrates the masons' use of stretcher bond when constructing Bruce's design)

Although the pavilions were always ordered to connect to the corners of the main house, the 38.5' main block was originally intended to dwarf the two 28' high pavilions completely.[866] Furthermore, the aforementioned office houses grew considerably in size. Since the contract does not mention the ways in which they were meant to connect to the main house, it is possible, as Rowan theorised, that they were originally meant to be separate structures.[867] These are two major disparities between what is described in the contract and what appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus.* Based on the engravings, Hopetoun's pavilions and office houses were enlarged to connect to the main block. Ultimately, Hopetoun became a more cohesive, unified structure. Given the very obvious differences between what was designed for Hopetoun and what was built, it is clear that this is a confusing document!

866 Rowan, p. 185; Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 8-9.
867 Rowan, p. 185.

Unfortunately, there are a few more discrepancies to take into consideration. The two clauses concerning the masonry of the rustic and principal storeys in Hopetoun's east façade pose issues in that they, once again, differ from what appears in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* images of Hopetoun. Regarding the rustic, Hopetoun's contract states that Charles Hope and his Curators had the option to have the basement rusticated 'as the house of Kinross is, or in Jonick [Ionic] Rustick as the house of Craigiehall.'[868] This document makes it seem as though there was a discernible difference between Kinross's and Craigiehall's rusticated storeys. However, a brief examination of them both shows that, frankly, there is no difference (see *Figure 8.1;* also *8.4*).

The basements of both Craigiehall and Kinross have channelled rustication with windows that are three-courses high. These windows also have individually carved and installed *voussoirs* that are two courses high. Although Hopetoun also has channelled rustication, its *voussoirs* are only one-course high and are carved into the stone rather than individually installed (*Figure 8.5*). This disparity is puzzling, to say the least. Clearly, a change was made to the design of the masonry work of Hopetoun's rustic early on in the construction process. In addition, it has already been mentioned that the principal storeys of Hopetoun were originally ordered to be ashlar. However, they famously appear as rusticated in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* elevation (see *Figure 3.2*). Colen Campbell himself describes Hopetoun as a house 'executed in very good Stone' with a façade 'rusticated in the French manner.'[869] This is further mystifying since Hopetoun's west façade is built in smooth ashlar work. It is difficult to determine whether Campbell was mistaken or whether another change to the masonry was made at some point during construction.

868 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 23-5.
869 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume 2, p. 4 London, 1717, Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2007.

(*Figure 8.4,* Sir William Bruce, Kinross House, begun 1679, screenshot from *Canmore,* SC 1244061)

(*Figure 8.5,* a window of the rusticated basement storey in Hopetoun's western façade, photograph taken by author)

Judging by the number of changes that were made to Hopetoun's design after the contract was signed, the latter situation seems more likely. Although the discrepancies between what the contract describes and what appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (and survives in the west façade) are not hugely dramatic, they are still significant. Essentially, the house became bigger, the pavilions and office houses were connected to the main block, and the style of masonry construction was changed. The question remains as to why these changes occurred. Perhaps Lady Margaret and Charles Hope wanted a slightly larger house (which it certainly became). Perhaps they preferred a certain aesthetic over another. Perhaps they wanted the size of the house and the style of masonry-work adjusted to reflect their wealth and

social prestige better. Frankly, these are all issues that are impossible to solve definitively without further documentation (including the original draughts). Despite the questions that have arisen here, this analysis has shed light on how these practical matters of design and construction were approached in this period. Now that Hopetoun's basic form (from the contract and engravings) has been described and analysed, it is time to move on to the contract's description of Hopetoun's ornamentation.

ii. The Contract's Description of Hopetoun's Ornamentation

After its discussion of Hopetoun's basic structure, the contract grows more detailed in its description of the ornamentation. It states: 'the first foot therof being ane Plinth and above the uppermost of the Rustick ane Astrigall wherupon the Soles [bottoms] of the windows are to be Laid.'[870] This description was ultimately built. Using the image of one of Hopetoun's rusticated windows on the west façade and the aforementioned passage from Craigiehall's contract as a guide, Bruce designed the basement windows to recess into the wall and the "plinth" refers to the dados, or the projecting base underneath the windows. It is also clear that an astragal caps the rusticated storey (see *Figure 8.3*). The windows in the rusticated storey were to be 'four foot Square in Rustick work finishing with the Courses of walls and a List round the day:Light thereof As the windows of the Ground story of the sd house of Kinross are.'[871] With the knowledge that each course was one foot high in mind, it is clear to see that the basement windows in Hopetoun's west façade are, indeed, four feet high. They also are directly in line with the stone courses, as directed by the contract. While "day-light" refers to the glass portions of the windows, the said "list" must be an abbreviation of *listello,* the Italian term for fillet.[872] The closest feature that

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870 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 25-6.

871 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 29-31.

872 Andrea Palladio, *Andrea Palladio's Architecture, in four books containing a dissertation on the five orders & ye most necessary observations relating to all kinds of building. ... The whole containing 226 folio copper plates carefully revis'd and redelineated by Edwd. Hoppus ...* London: printed for & sold by the proprietor & engraver, Benj: Cole, 1735, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale Document Number GALEJCW0106153064, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3ZDfn6 (accessed 21 July 2016).

resembles a fillet in the basement storey fenestration is the slight indentation surrounding the windows themselves; this recession is particularly noticeable below the *voussoirs* (see *Figure 8.5*). Moreover, even though Hopetoun follows its own form of rustication, its use of fillets around the basement windows is in imitation of Kinross as the contract prescribes (see *Figure 8.4*).

It also seems as though Hopetoun's principal storey windows were modelled after those at Craigiehall. According to Craigiehall's contract:

'The middle story windows of Eight foot high finished with proportionell Jonick [sic] architraves and attick Cornish on each window, breaking att the upper corners as usually architrave windows doe, with a plinth on the underend of the architrave resting upon the sole, which sole must stand off the plaine wall a little more than the projecture of the plinth under the architrave resting upon the astragal above the rustic.'[873]

Broken down, this clause states that the windows of Craigiehall's principal storey were to have basic Ionic entablatures made up of miniature architraves and cornices. Furthermore, what the contract means by stating that the architraves were to "break at the upper corners" is that they were to be lugged. The lugged architraves, resting upon a projecting base (the "sole"), were also to encase the entirety of the windows. Dados were then to be placed between the astragal and the windows' projecting bases. These dados therefore acted as aprons. Craigiehall's fenestration was an important part of its classical ornamentation.

Before examining Hopetoun's window fenestration, it is important to note that the next part of this clause in Craigiehall's contract poses some challenges. Ultimately, this direction indicates that Hopetoun was not the only house that diverged from what is described in its building contract. Craigiehall's contract states:

'And the other windows in the ground and upper stories being thrie foot in height are to finish VIZ The undermost in rustic work breaking doune to the plinth according to the course of the rustic as itt runs round the astragall [?]

873 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 18-22.

and the uppermost windows being thrie foot high to finish with a plain face resting upon the other astragal.'[874]

The windows of both the basement and second storeys were to be three feet tall. In other words, these storeys were both designed to be half the size of the principal floor. The basement storey windows were to be imbedded in the rustic on top of the base plinth. Meanwhile, each window in the second storey was only to have an astragal and no entablature; this was simpler fenestration than what was used for the principal storey's windows. Since Craigiehall's contract also states that it was to be constructed using stretcher bond with one-foot-tall stones, it is easy to point out the differences between the design and the reality.[875] The second storey experienced the most changes: the windows of this floor grew by three courses, making them six feet tall. At some point during or after construction, Craigiehall was expanded vertically. This reinforces the notion that construction was a flexible process. Did this also occur at Hopetoun House?

Although it has already been made clear that Hopetoun grew in size from its original design, the question remains as to whether any changes were made to the ornamentation from what is described in the contract. Returning to Hopetoun's windows, the contract uses very similar language to Craigiehall's. The document states:

'And the Windows of the other two Stories ffour foot wyde, and Eight foot high of daylight finished with proportionell Jonick Architrave, freiss and attick Cornish of the full projecture of the Corona Reising towards the face of the walls for Casting off the Rain breaking at the upper Corner as useually Architrave windows does wt a Plinth on the underend of the Architrve Resting upon the Sole, Which Sole must Stand off the plane wall a litlemore [sic] then the Projecture of the Plinth under the Architrave resting upon the Astragalls above the Rustick, As also the Soles of the uppermost windows must Rest upon the second Astragall in like manner.'[876]

The first direction in this clause states that both the first- and second-storey windows were to be eight feet high and four feet wide. Ionic entablatures

874 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 22-6.
875 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 16-7.
876 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 32-39.

were to crown each window like at Craigiehall, but with the addition of friezes between the architraves and the cornices. Each cornice was also to have a corona, as well. As they were at Craigiehall, the architraves were also directed to be lugged and to encircle the sides of the windows. These entablatures also acted as stone gutters that would have cast away rain. The bottoms of the windows (the “soles”) of both storeys were similarly to be made into projecting bases that would sit on top of dados (again, the contract describes them as plinths; *Figure 8.6*). These dados each sat on top of the astragals that divided both the rustic and first storeys and first and second storeys (*Figure 8.7*). As with Craigiehall, Bruce designed Hopetoun to have austere classical ornamentation. Since the fenestration that appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and that currently adorns the windows on Hopetoun’s west façade match what was described by the contract, it is clear that this is what was built. The walls expanded vertically around the windows and their fenestration. Furthermore, the contract’s description of this style of ornamentation (the minimal use of temple motifs) elsewhere in the house also came to be built.

(*Figure 8.6,* Close-up shot of a window in Hopetoun's west façade, photo courtesy of author)

(*Figure 8.7,* Close-up of Hopetoun's west façade)

The next clause of the contract, which elaborates on the house's ornamentation beyond the windows, is much more straightforward than those discussing the heights of Hopetoun's floors and the house's fenestration. It states:

‘The Cornish round the house of Compleat Jonick Cornish proportionell to the height of the wall of the house, form the Astragall above the house to top of wall next the Easing [eve] of the Skaillie [slate], Rysing from the Nose of the Cornish under the Easing Sclatt according to the Bavell of the Rooffe with Dentaleiss round the house And Returning the three tympons upon the midle of Each side of the East, South and North sydes of the house And to Cutt and sett up ane Coat of Armes in each Tympon as they shall be delivered & extended in ane draught therof.’[877]

Essentially, an Ionic entablature was to encircle the eaves of the slate roof, which would be made up of an astragal, cornice, and dentils. This entablature appears in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving of Hopetoun’s façade and still remains in current house’s north, west, and south façades (see *Figure 3.2*; *Figure 8.8*). Furthermore, above the attic entablature were to be ‘the three tympons upon the midle of Each side of the East, South and North sydes of the house,’ each inlayed with the family’s coats-of-arms; the only extant tympon is embedded in the southern façade (*Figure 8.9*). However, this is due to Adam’s intervention rather than any changes that were made during the construction of Bruce’s Hopetoun. As the contract directed, this pediment does contain the family’s coat-of-arms. That all four of Hopetoun’s façades contained temple-like frontispieces underscores the house’s similarities with Palladio’s Villa Trissino and Villa Capra. Interestingly, however, the segmental pediment on the west façade is not mentioned in the contract. This seems to be another instance in which a change (or in this case, an addition) was made to the original design sometime during or after construction. Whatever the case, the west façade still had a trabeated portico while the east one had an arcaded frontispiece.

877 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 39-45.

(*Figure 8.8,* Close-up of the entablature bordering the eaves of Hopetoun's roof. This entablature still exists on Hopetoun's north and south facades. Photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 8.9,* Hopetoun House southern façade, with clear view of entablature)

Most of Hopetoun was ornamented in an austere style of classicism. The frontispiece and trabeated portico of the east and west façades were two of the only forms of ordered ornamentation in Bruce's design for Hopetoun House. While the west façade portico has already been discussed in the third chapter, it bears repeating that the contract specifically states that it was to be modelled directly on the entrance portico at Kinross House. With regards to the east façade portico, Tobias Bachope was to make:

'the Outsyde of the Porch Rustick pedestals and Pilasters above and arches all of fine Aisler work and the Insyde of the said porch finishing in fine Aisler

work and the door therof with a swelling moulding and Cornish and the windows as the rest with Architrve ffreize & Cornish.'[878]

The first storey of the portico was to be an arcade built in ashlar masonry; the interior of the portico was also to have smooth ashlar work. The piers and abutments that supported the arches would be ornamented with pilasters. These pilasters would be supported by rusticated bases (or pedestals) in the basement storey. The door was to be ornamented with mouldings and a cornice and the two adjacent windows were to have the same fenestration as described above. Although the contract does not mention the design for the second storey, a pediment ('tympon') was directed to crown the east façade.[879] Besides the fact that the contract does not mention the order in which the pilasters were to be carved, this description closely matches the entrance façade frontispiece that features in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. These porticoes were not the end-all in Hopetoun's ornamentation, but rather were surmounted by the crowning decorative feature: the cupola.

The historical context of Hopetoun's cupola and the sources for its design were already discussed in the third chapter of this thesis. What remains to be discussed is how closely the object that appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus* adheres to the design described by the building contract. This document directs Bachope:

'to make and build ane Stone Cupola above the Rooffe in Jonick work with Eight Jonick pillars, of two part Releiff with Architrave ffreiss and Cornish rising eight foot high to the upperbed of the Cornish, and to be wrought in neat and Clean work in all it's [sic] proportions and members with a stone Rooffe arched wt four windows in it finishing in Stone work, According to the draught therof.'[880]

Bruce designed the entire structure—including the actual dome—to be constructed in stone. The drum of the cupola was to be eight feet tall with four windows. This structure was the third and last ornamental feature of the main house that made use of the orders. It was directed to be ornamented

878 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 78-81.
879 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 42-3.
880 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 66-70.

with eight engaged Ionic columns and an entablature (complete with architrave, frieze, and cornice) was to encircle the top of the drum beneath the roof. This description does differ from its engraving: in recalling what was said of Hopetoun's cupola in the third chapter, those very same engaged columns appear to be Corinthian in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Furthermore, the drum of the cupola is considerably larger than eight feet tall. It is hard to judge whether the latter discrepancy has more to do with the engraver's interpretation of the house or whether the cupola really was enlarged to that extent.[881] However, it is totally reasonable that Lady Margaret or Charles Hope decided they desired a Corinthian cupola over an Ionic one at some point during construction. Indeed, it makes sense to use the most elaborate order for a house's crowning decorative feature. Even though Hopetoun's main block was designed as the most extravagant section of the house, Bruce still ensured that its auxiliary structures were also ornamented.

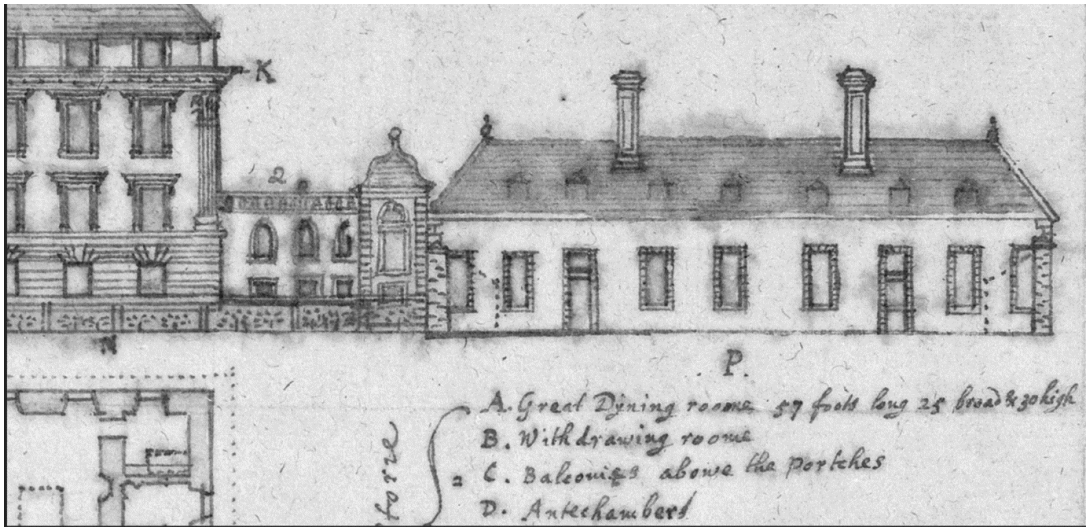
The first of these structures, the pavilions, would have had basic classical treatment 'wt windows, stairs, astragalls, and Cornishes, according to the Draught yrof made and subscrybed by Sir William Bruce of Kinross knight and *baronet*.'[882] Without the original draughts, it is difficult to know how the exterior of the pavilions would have appeared as originally designed. Ultimately, these structures were, of course, enlarged to match the height and proportions of the main block. To help them blend in with the rest of the façade, they received the same decorative treatments as the main block. Meanwhile, according to the contract, the office houses' chimneys were to be 'twelve foot high in fine Aisler finishing with Cornishes as the office house Chimneys of Kinross are with ane Attick Cornish upon the top, of the office house walls and ane Plinth of Aisler below the said Cornish.'[883] Although the office houses at Kinross have been torn down (the remains of one being

881 Although this is beyond this author's abilities, an engineer's analysis over whether the octagonal staircase could support a cupola of that size could answer this question. Even without the concrete calculations, it is hard to belief that a cupola of that size would have been structurally sound for a modestly sized house.

882 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 9-11.

883 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 58-60.

incorporated into the garden and the other made into a car-park), their appearance is thankfully preserved by Alexander Edward's drawings (*Figure 8.10*). The eaves of Kinross's offices house had very plain, ashlar cornices. Its chimneys were designed as elongated dados with decorative cornices that hid the coping. Based on the above clause, Hopetoun's office houses would have looked very much like Kinross's. Since they were service areas, it is likely that their appearance was not affected by the fact that they were enlarged at some point during the building process.

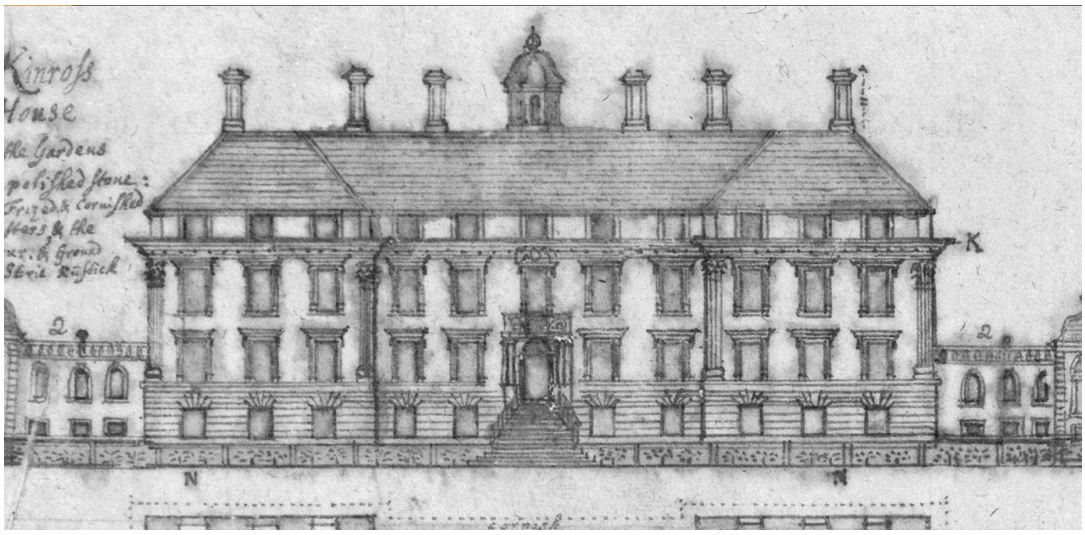


(*Figure 8.10,* Screenshot of Alexander Edward draught focussing on Kinross's office house)

It should be added that the chimneys for Hopetoun's main block were also designed to be modelled after those at Kinross (*Figure 8.11*). Those chimneys were to be 'Eleven foot high above the Roofe Caped [Coped] like Chimneyheads at Kinross in fine Aisler work.'[884] The chimneys of Kinross's main house were also elongated dados with decorative cornices hiding the coping. As such, this would have been the original design for Hopetoun House's chimneys. However, this is not how they appear in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving. It is once again hard to judge whether the engraver took some liberties with the proportions of the chimneys or whether Lady Margaret or Charles Hope decided they wanted them shorter at some point

884 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 18-19.

during the house's construction. Because tall chimneystacks provide a functional purpose in directing smoke away from a house, and given how enormous the cupola appears in the engraving, it is very possible that the engraver modified the heights of the chimneys and the cupola for aesthetic reasons. In any case, it is clear that both Kinross and Craigiehall were great influences on the exterior design of Hopetoun House, in spite of the changes that were made during its construction. It is now time to explore what the contract says about the interior of Hopetoun House.



(*Figure 8.11,* Screenshot of Alexander Edward elevation of Kinross House)

iii. The Contract's Description of Hopetoun's Interior

Before launching into any in-depth analysis, it is first important to note that Hopetoun's building contract does not expound on Hopetoun's interior design or floor plan in any great detail. In fact, neither Craigiehall's building contract, nor any of the contracts included in Dunbar and Davies' collection, described floor plans beyond mentioning specifically desired rooms.[885] Thus, while Hopetoun's building contract is unique in its precise descriptions of masonry and ornamentation, its vague description of its layout is not unusual. The most likely explanation is that it was easier for Tobias Bachope to refer to Bruce's draughts than to written descriptions and it was consequently not considered necessary—even for this building contract—to include that much

885 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 1-100; Dunbar and Davies, eds., pp. 276-323.

detail. Nonetheless, Hopetoun's contract still mentions some of the rooms that would be included in the main block, including 'Dyning Rooms, with Drawing Rooms, Chambers and Closetts [sic] and other Rooms.'[886] Each of these rooms was to have a fireplace designed by Bruce in imitation of those at Kinross.[887] Since hearths were subject to a taxation of fourteen shillings each from 1690 to 1695, the inclusion of such a great number of fireplaces in one's house after that date, though a substantial statement of wealth in itself, shows freedom from the pressure of financial burden.[888] Fireplaces were essential to keeping large, draughty houses warm.

At the same time, however, some areas of the house had to be kept as cool as possible. According to Hopetoun's contract, 'the Kitchin, Sellars, Stair Case, Ladner, Second tableroom &c: [were] to be Vaulted as they are marked in the sd Draught.'[889] Since some of these rooms were service areas, they were most likely situated in the basement storey. Vaulted ceilings in the basement would have provided extra structural support for the rest of the house above the basement. In addition, they helped to trap cool air. This was absolutely necessary for the cellars and larder ("ladner") since they were both storage spaces for perishables (which included ale and wine). In addition, cooking was a labour-intensive activity. Combined with a constantly-burning fire, this would have made any kitchen a very hot space in which to work. A vaulted ceiling would have helped regulate the temperature of the kitchens. Although the 'second table room' will be explored more extensively in the tenth chapter, this room likely acted as a dining space for higher-ranking servants. The staircase mentioned in this clause must have referred to the service staircase to the south of the main one. Since this staircase spanned the entire height of the house from the basement to the top floor (it still does),

886 Hopetoun Building Contract, line 46.
887 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 45-9.
888 National Records of Scotland, 'Taxation Records,' *National Records of Scotland,* 2015, http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/taxation-records (accessed 1 July, 2018).
889 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 49-51.

a vaulted ceiling probably helped keep the multi-storey room structurally sound. Function, rather than extravagance, was this staircase's priority.

The main staircase, meanwhile, had to be designed and built to impress. Bachope was to construct 'the great Stair in the body of the main house with Pletts and Pillars arched above in the Rooffe therof According to ye Draught and Modell exactly Joynted all as Smooth as paper.'[890] One key point that this clause makes is that there were not only draughts made of Bruce's design, but a model as well. Both would have been key guides for Bruce's design for a scale-and-platt staircase with a double shell cupola ('with Pletts and Pillars arched above in the Rooffe'). Although the contract does not detail that the staircase was to be octagonal, that most likely was not considered necessary since, again, Bachope had draughts and a model to guide him. There is also no mention of the lavishly carved baluster and panelled walls. However, this does not mean that it was never designed from the start. It also does not mean that the patrons opted for a less expensive and less extravagant option, as Alistair Rowan suggested.[891]

The answer as to why no mention of the timberwork was made in this contract was simple: Tobias Bachope was a stonemason, not a wright (joiner). Since it was necessary to construct the room containing the staircase in stone to keep it structurally sound, Bachope's services were absolutely necessary. However, he would not have been responsible for the timber work. This is another instance in which a separate contract would have been drawn up between the patrons and Alexander Eizat, who was the most likely craftsman responsible for the woodwork in the staircase.[892] The key takeaway here is that the contract describes a stone, scale-and-platt staircase with a dome and that is what was ultimately built. Even with all these projects, there was still one more responsibility the contract gave Bachope.

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890 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 71-3.
891 Rowan, p. 187.
892 This staircase will be explored in much greater detail in a later chapter.

The final key duty Bachope was tasked with was paving the floors in the house. According to the contract, Bachope had:

'to heugh and Lay the Vestible and hail stairs, floors and Pleats in the Main house and all the Rooms and passages in the Low Story therof, and the whole office houses in good and Sufficient well Joynted polished pavement of ane Inch and ane half at least of square Joynts to joyne each other, The Pavement being four inches thick, and the Pavement of the Vestible and floor under the great stair being Laid with two different Colours of stone in Such figures as Shall be condescended upon by Hoptoun.'[893]

In other words, Bachope was directed to lay the floors of every room in the main block, the basement service areas, and the office houses with four-inch thick stone slabs. Even though the floors of the entrance hall and great staircase were directed to be laid with stone slabs of two different colours, both rooms today have only white floors (*Figures 8.12* and *8.13*). It is possible that this was yet another change that occurred to the design during the house's construction. However, since both of these rooms are part of the Adam house, it is also possible these floors were repaved during Hopetoun's extensive renovations.

Whatever the case, that every one of Hopetoun's floors were ordered to be paved is significant. Although this clause may not be as glamourous as those discussing the frontispieces and cupola, it underscores how well-built Hopetoun was intended to be. While its size and exterior ornamentation were modest in comparison to some of its contemporaries both in Scotland and England, Hopetoun was not a cheap investment. One of its main intentions was to showcase the family's wealth and social prestige and Lady Margaret could not scrimp and save in any area (even if that meant building on a smaller scale). Paving the service areas also kept them cleaner and warmer. The entirety of Bachope's stonework had to be of the finest quality. Altogether, it is clear that Bachope was tasked with building the stone shell of the house, many aspects of which were modelled after Craigiehall and Kinross. After such a detailed description of the house's design, Hopetoun's

893 Hopeotun Building Contract, lines 61-6.

building contract goes on to discuss the ways in which Bachope and Lady Margaret were to divide the expenses of its construction. This, of course, included payments for Bachope's services.

(*Figure 8.12,* Hopetoun House Entrance Hall, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 8.13,* View of main staircase from entrance hall, photograph taken by author)

iv. The Contract's Discussion of How Hopetoun's Construction was to be Planned and Funded

This type of discussion was very typical of building contracts in this period. It was important to record the distribution of labour and material costs in order to ensure that both parties kept to their word (and that consequences be put in place should they not have). Every building contract compiled by Dunbar and Davies included such explanations as to how the buildings' construction would be funded, how the team of workmen would be hired, and how the lead craftsman was to be paid. Typically, the contracts of bigger

projects, such as Craigiehall's or Hopetoun's, had lengthier discussions of this kind.[894] Of course, the actual ways in which these costs were divided between patron and craftsman, as well as the amount the patron paid the craftsman, varied from project to project. Factors such as the size of the project, the skill and expertise of the craftsman, and the wealth of the patron were all important considerations.

What follows are the logistical and legal clauses in Craigiehall's contract. Bachope was first granted permission 'to cast doune the old house from top to bottome and with care to preserve the stones that are for hewen work to be made use of in the new house to the best advantadge.'[895] The lands of Craigiehall were added to the Johnstone's Dumfriess-shire landholdings in 1682 upon the second earl's marriage to Sophia Fairholm (their union produced Henrietta Johnstone, the future wife of the First Earl of Hopetoun).[896] In addition, Bachope was ordered to make lime mortar at his own expense and to furnish his own barrowmen, nails, scaffolding, and other materials necessary to complete the project.[897] The contract proceeds to specify that Bachope was to enter into the work on 1 March, 1698 and to have begun laying the roof by 1 October, 1698.[898] With the threat of a £1000 Scots failzier, this was the extent of Bachope's responsibilities.[899]

In return, Annandale was to pay Bachope 6000 merks Scots in four increments: he was to pay 1200 merks upon Bachope's entry into the work; 1600 merks on the following Whitsunday; another 1600 merks on the following Lammas; and the final 1600 merks upon the mason's completion of the project.[900] Annandale faced a £100 (the contract does not specify

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894 Dunbar and Davies, eds., pp. 275-323.
895 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 41-3.
896 Historic Environment Scotland, 'Craigiehall,' *Historic Environment Scotland,* publication date unknown, http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00113 (accessed 14 June, 2016). Note: this website mistakenly states that the third earl acquired the lands of Craigiehall.
897 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 47-50.
898 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 50-2, 82-4.
899 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 87-91.
900 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 52-62.

whether it was pounds Scots or sterling) failzier—in addition to a £1000 Scots failzier—in the event of any delay in payment.[901] Moreover, Annandale was to give Bachope four bolls of meal upon the start of the project and additional meal whenever it was needed or desired by the mason.[902] Annandale also agreed to provide Bachope and his workmen housing.[903] Several clauses indicate that the earl was responsible for the provision of the timber needed to construct scaffolding, which Bachope was to return upon completing Craigiehall.[904] It was also the earl's responsibility to prepare the building site and to create and maintain a convenient space for the construction materials.[905] For each day that the construction workers were laid idle for lack of materials, Annandale's penalty was to pay each workman (through Bachope) fourteen shillings Scots.[906] Annandale also agreed to send his own servants out to quarry fresh stone to supplement what was taken from the old house.[907] Upon reaching the signatures of the parties and witnesses (David Robertsone, servitor to Robert Cartairs, Robert Cartairs, writer to the Signet, David Robertsone, John Kirkpatrick servitor to Annandale), thus ends the Craigiehall contract.[908] Although it is much longer, the portion of Hopetoun's contract devoted to these logistical issues follows a very similar format to Craigiehall's.

The last 75 lines of Hopetoun's contract are spent going through the practical aspects of the house's construction. The main differences between Hopetoun's and Craigiehall's contracts were: who funded the materials; who quarried the stone; who provided scaffolding; and how much Bachope was to be paid. In Hopetoun's contract, Bachope was first directed to hire and pay the necessary masons and quarriers for the whole duration of the construction period.[909] While Lady Margaret was to provide Bachope and his

901 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 62-5.
902 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 65-7.
903 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 70.
904 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 70-5, 85-7.
905 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 75-6, 78-9.
906 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 77-8. .
907 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 79-81.
908 Craigiehall Building Contract, lines 97-100.
909 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 100-1.

workmen with scaffolding, it was their duty to set it up.[910] Conversely, Bachope was to provide the other necessary tools for the hewing of stone and construction of the aforementioned structures.[911] With that being said, Bachope and his men were ordered to quarry the stones to be used for the walls and ashlar work from the quarry purchased by the Hopes that once belonged to a Mr. Manner or Mannor.[912] Not only was it necessary for Bachope to have a thorough knowledge of fashionable architectural building techniques and Classical terminology, he also needed expertise in every aspect of construction in order to undertake such gigantic projects successfully. The Hope family was also to win stones privately from the estate's ruined Abercorn Castle, which would subsequently be employed in the construction of vaults and the house's other interior structures.[913] This is actually another area of similarity between Hopetoun and Craigiehall: while Hopetoun made use of the stone from the ruined Abercorn Castle, Bachope also tore down an aging tower house on the Craigiehall estate and reused the leftover stone for Annandale's new house. In addition, both Abercorn Castle and the old Craigiehall House were historically unaffiliated with the Hopes and Johnstones, respectively. Both houses were part of a tradition to turn old houses into new ones. This further emphasises the social significance of Hopetoun House and the role it played in augmenting the Hope family's status.

After discussing the sources of stone for the construction project, Hopetoun's contract moves on to lay out the timeline in which the house was to be built. Bachope agreed to enter into his work 1 March, 1699; he would endeavour to finish the basement storey of the main house, as well as the mason work for the office houses, by 20 September, 1699; and he was to aim to have the roof laid by Martinmass (or 11 November) 1700.[914] In return,

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910 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 101-3, 136-9, 140-1.
911 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 103-4.
912 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 104-108. This quarry was discussed in the sixth chapter of this dissertation.
913 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 108-11.
914 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 111-16.

Lady Margaret agreed to pay Bachope 20 thousand merks Scots, in quarterly increments of 2500 merks, over the approximately two-year course of this project.[915] A £200 quarterly failzier clause was also instated should Lady Margaret have failed to make payments, along with annual rent coverage and ten bolls of meal at Bachope's entry into the project.[916] As a side note, that Lady Margaret paid Bachope more than triple the amount Annandale did further underscores the fact that Hopetoun's construction was a bigger project than Craigiehall's.

In any case, Lady Margaret was also responsible for the delivery and convenient placement of the many materials, from stone and sand to timber for scaffolding, needed for this massive project.[917] Although Tobias was to be responsible for gathering the necessary utensils to quarry stone, Lady Margaret agreed to provide the other tools needed for the house's actual construction.[918] The Hopes were also to provide housing for the 30 or 40 workmen who would be constantly onsite, as well as private housing for Bachope and his family.[919] As an added bonus, Bachope was to be given a £5 sterling voucher for scaffolding nails.[920] Meanwhile, it was up to the Hopes to find, level, and prepare the site for Hopetoun's construction.[921] Compared to Annandale, Lady Margaret was a much more involved patron and independently funded a great deal of Hopetoun's construction. Finally, so long as Bachope did not use any of this stone for the exterior portions of Hopetoun, Bachope could choose which Abercorn Castle stones could be used in addition to the freshly quarried stone.[922] If either party failed to meet any of the contract's clauses, they would face a £2000 Scots failzier.[923] The

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915 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 117-29.
916 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 129-34.
917 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 134-8, 140-1.
918 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 141-5.
919 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 145-8.
920 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 148-50.
921 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 150-2.
922 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 152-7.
923 Thomas Pringle, writer, Tobias Bachope, Charles Hope, Margarett Hope, Thomas Pringle, William Bruce, Geo Ssurvessn [sic], Char. Keith Pringle, witnesses, 'Contract Betwixt the Laird Hopetoun & his Curators And Tobias Bachope, 1698,' building contract for

contract was then signed by Tobias Bachope, Charles Hope, and Margaret Hope, with Thomas Pringle, George Sherriff, George Keith, William Bruce, and Archibald Hope acting as witnesses.[924] Having gone through the entirety of Hopetoun's building contract—and comparing it to contemporary building contracts, Craigiehall's in particular—it is time to summarise why this analysis is significant.

Conclusion

This chapter made an in-depth analysis of Hopetoun's building contract in one section with four sub-sections: the first three broke down the contract's description of Hopetoun's original design; and the fourth looked at the contract's description of the logistical aspects of Hopetoun's construction. This was the same format that contemporary building contracts, including Craigiehall's, followed. However, Hopetoun's was unique in its length and level of detail—particularly in respect to its ornamentation. This possibly had to do with the size of Hopetoun as a project and the fact that draughts of the house had already been drawn up by Bruce. In other words, that many aspects of the house's design had already been determined, combined with its size, automatically meant that there was more detail that had to be put down in writing. In addition, the inclusion of the logistical matters of Hopetoun's construction was another long part of the contract. This was to ensure that all care was taken to fund the project properly so that it could be carried out efficiently. That aside, the most important aspect of Hopetoun's building contract for this chapter is its detailed description of Bruce's original design.

Since Bruce's original draughts (and an apparent model) are lost, this contract is key to the modern reader's understanding of how Hopetoun was

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Hopetoun House, 29 December, 1698, Dalhousie, GD 45/17/769, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK, lines 157-60, Bundle 626 in HHPT version.

924 Hopetoun Contract, lines 165-72. It should be noted that Archibald Hope, Lord Rankeillor, was the grandson of Thomas Hope of Craighall through his father, John Hope. Charles Hope was the great-grandson of Thomas Hope of Craighall. Thus, Charles Hope was Lord Rankeillor's first cousin one removed.

originally planned to be. Much of what is described by the contract—particularly the fenestration, frontispieces, and the pediments—were built. Many of these decorative features (namely the fenestration and frontispieces) were modelled after Craigiehall's and Kinross's. At the same time, scholars have long stressed that there are discrepancies between what the contract says and what appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus.* This chapter's analysis has confirmed that there were a number of changes made to the house between 1698 and 1717. The biggest changes were that the main block, pavilions, and office houses were all enlarged considerably. While it is unclear whether the chimneystacks were shortened and the cupola enlarged, it does seem that the cupola was built in the Corinthian order rather than Ionic. Furthermore, the stonework for the east façade was very likely switched to French-style rusticated channelling over smooth ashlar masonry. Finally, the style of rustication applied to Hopetoun's basement was its own entity and was not modelled after either Kinross's or Craigiehall's rustic (which are essentially the same anyway). It should also be noted that no mention was made of the segmental pediment on the west façade; it seems clear that it was added to the house sometime after the contract was signed.

A lesson that can be taken away from this analysis is that contracts outlined the design that was desired by the patron and gave directions for construction to the head craftsman. A building contract could be very detailed if an architect had already drawn up draughts and if it was an elaborate project. However, the patron could order adjustments to be made in the meantime; a building contract was not completely binding and changes could be made to the design. In regards to Hopetoun, this elaborate project was certainly adjusted considerably in the few decades it existed before Adam's intervention. It also bears repeating that Kinross and Craigiehall clearly had a heavy influence on its design. This also underscores that Bruce drew first from his own career before expanding outward to other sources for inspiration, which is what was stressed in the third chapter. The question remains as to when these changes were made—whether it was during or after construction.

Chapter IX: William Bruce's Hopetoun House: A Revised Timeline for the Construction of the Main House, 1699-1707

Introduction

This original timeline of construction for Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun was established in 1984 by Alistair Rowan. Essentially, he argued that the house was built between 1698 and 1702 and then expanded in 1706. Thanks to the greater accessibility of Hopetoun's archives today—and a great deal of restorative work that has since been carried out on Hopetoun's papers—it has been possible to re-establish the house's timeline of construction. Ultimately, Hopetoun was built in one phase rather than several, fragmented ones. Such an exercise will accomplish two important objectives. The first is that it will document what of Bruce's designs were built and when any changes to it were made; this was an issue raised in the previous chapter. The second is that a new timeline can tell modern readers when the house was able to be used by the Hope family. This is particularly important since Adam's heavy renovations for the house began as early as 1721. The construction of the main house will be discussed in one section, which will subsequently be split into year-by-year subsections. It should be noted that the first of these will encompass the period of 1698-1701 and the last one from 1707-1719. The building accounts, receipts of discharge, and contracts signed by the numerous craftsmen who were employed at Hopetoun over the years will be the basis for this chapter. It should be noted that the blacksmith accounts will not be discussed in great detail due to the fact that they mostly record the making of nails, tools, locks and keys, and other such objects. A few of his larger projects will be helpful in confirming this revised timeline, however. Two appendices, including a detailed, year-by-year timeline and a list of construction costs, will help to reinforce these new theories.

I. A New Timeline for the Construction of Bruce's Hopetoun House

i. 1698-1701

The first major document relating to Hopetoun's construction is the building contract that was signed on 29 December, 1698. The previous

chapter closely examined the building contract and concluded that much of what was described by the contract correlates with the images published in the second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1717. However, several important changes did occur to the structure at some point during construction. Some of these were: the main block itself was enlarged vertically; the pavilions were drastically enlarged to blend in with the rest of the main block; and the office house wings were expanded to connect to the pavilions. The question remains as to when these chages occurred and whether the house's construction was piece-meal or contiguous. As James Macaulay has noted, Bachope was paid his first £50 sterling (or £600 Scots) on 29 December, 1698 (the day he signed the contract).[925] According to the available documentation, Bachope's work was underway by the end of March, 1699.[926] He also signed receipts of discharge for 14 April, 27 April, 13 May, 16 May, 25 May, 29 May, 12 July, 18 July, 19 July, 12 August, 14 August, 23 August, 23 September, 21 October, 8 November, and 15 November, 1699.[927] The wright, Alexander Eizat, also received £124.7s

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925 Thomas Pringle, 'Receipt of Discharge by Tobias Bachope,' 29 December, 1698, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Also, see: Macaulay, *The Classical Country House in Scotland: 1660-1800,* p. 23.

926 James Campbell, 'Receipt of Discharge, Nidrie the 28th of March 1699 years by Tobias Bachope,' 28 March, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,' circa 1699, list of receipts of discharges, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT.

927 Tobias Bachope, 'Writt of Mr Bachops recepts'; Tobias Bachope, 'Niddrie Castle 27 April 1699,' 27 April, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, Abercorn 13 May 1699, Tobias Bachope,' 13 May, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, Abercorn 16 May 1699, Tobias Bachope,' 16 May, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt 18 July 1699 Tobias Bachope,' 18 July, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, Abercorn 12 August 1699, Tobias Bachope,' 12 August, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, Abercorn 14 August, 1699, Tobias Bachope,' 14 August, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt Tobias Bachope 23 August 1699,' 23 August, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, Kimpart the 23 Septr 1699, Tobias Bachope,' 23 September, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, Abercorn 21 October 1699, Tobias Bachope,' 21 October, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt Tobias Bachope 8 November 1699, 8 November, 1699, ' receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, 15 November 1699, Tobias Bachope,' 15 November, 1699, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. For more information on how much Bachope was paid per receipt, see Appendix H.

Scots on 22 November, 1699.[928] In total, Lady Margaret paid approximately £9,571.0s.9d Scots (approximately £798 sterling) for the construction work in 1699. As yet, it was only mason-work and wright-work that were underway and £9,446.14s.9d was paid to Bachope.[929] Although no building accounts have been found that can detail what all was carried out that year, it is at least clear that it was an industrious one for Bachope. He got enough of the structure built so that Eizat could begin his projects for the house by the end of the year. The following few years were also productive.

The construction of Hopetoun House continued in the same manner in 1700. Tobias Bachope signed more receipts of discharge on 29 March, 8 April, 31 May, 12 June, 20 July, 13 August, 14 September, 13 November, 16 November, and 3 December, 1700.[930] Meanwhile, Alexander Eizat was paid for his work on 15 February, 7 June, 21 August, and 15 October, 1700.[931] Lady Margaret paid approximately £7,091.10s Scots (or approximately £591 sterling) that year for mason-work and wright-work combined. The amount paid to Bachope for mason-work totalled £5,651.10s Scots. While his bills still constituted the majority of building expenditures, Eizat's charges were growing pricier with increased activity. Returning to the stipulations set forth

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928 Alexander Eizat, 'Acct of Money Pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,' list of money paid to Alexander Eizat from 1699, 1 August, 1705, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

929 See Appendixes G and H.

930 George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 29 March 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 29 March, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 8 April, 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 8 April, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 31 May 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 31 May, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 12 June 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 12 June, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 20 July 1700, Tobias Bachope,' receipt of discharge, 20 July, 1700, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 13 August 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 13 August, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 14 September 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 14 September, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 13 November 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 13 November, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 16 November 1700, Tobias Bachope,' 16 November, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, 3 December, Abercorn, Tobias Bachope,' 3 December, 1700, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. For more information on how much Bachope was paid per receipt, see Appendix G.

931 Eizat, 'Acct of Money Pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705.'

by the 1698 contract, Lady Margaret was to pay Bachope 2,500 merks (one merk was two-thirds of a pound Scots. This means Bachope was paid £3,750 Scots per quarter) quarterly and Bachope agreed to have the shell of the main house of Hopetoun House completed by 11 November (Martinmass), 1700. Lady Margaret ultimately paid Bachope several times per quarter, which must have made it easier to budget and keep up with such enormous costs. Furthermore, even though Bachope and other masons continued working at Hopetoun over the next several years, he must have completed the initial hurdle of construction by the end of 1700. The significant drop in payments made out to Bachope in 1701 underscores this notion. She paid Bachope on 4 June, 3 July, 15 July, 21 August, 10 October, and 10 November, 1701.[932] The total amount Lady Margaret paid for mason-work in 1701 only came to £937.13s.9d Scots—considerably less compared to what she spent in 1699 and 1700.[933] The seven-month pause between payments also implies that time was taken to inspect and consider what had been completed before Bachope resumed work.

Therefore, though the main house shell was mostly finished by the end of 1700, some adjustments were made the following year. An oft cited building account, titled by George Sherriff as 'Acct of Aditionall Mason work at the houses of Abercorn not Contained in Contract all which is finished preceding the 1st 1701,' lists extra mason-work projects not included in the contract.[934] This document can answer some questions over the disparity

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932 Edward Callender, 'Receipt of Discharge, 4 June 1701, Tobias Bachope,' 4 June, 1701, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; William Cowburgh, 'Receipt of Discharge, 3 July 1701, Tobias Bachope,' 3 July, 1701, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipts of Discharge for Scaffolding Nails and for a £420 Scots payment, 15 July, 1701, Tobias Bachope,' 15 July, 1701, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge 21 August 1701 Tobias Bachope,' 21 August, 1701, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of Discharge, 10 October 1701, Tobias Bachope,' 10 October, 1701, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; George Keith, 'Receipt of Discharge, 10 November 1701, Tobias Bachope,' 10 November, 1701, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT.

933 See Appendixes G and H.

934 George Sherriff, 'Acct of Aditionall Mason work at the houses of Abercorn not Containd in Contract all which is finished preceding the 1st 1701,' circa 1701, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HPPT. Also, see: Rowan, pp. 185 and 199 (footnote 6); Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' pp. 7 and 13 (footnote 60).

between the designs described by the 1698 building contract and the images that were published in 1717. First, the contract describes office houses that are considerably smaller than their *Vitruvius Britannicus* counterparts. Meanwhile, the first two clauses of 'Acct of Additionall Mason work' read as:

'Imp [Imprimis] the South and north office houses being 3 foot longer and one foot Broader and 1 foot and ½ hiegher then what was Agreed upon as also The pends Abov the ovens the sd two office houses extending to in Measure—4 Rood 7 el ½ at 30 pr Rood: £125.17s.3d Scots

It [Item] of Aisler work in the spaces twixt the Main houses and office houses and pavilion extending to 888 foot small hunder at 8S pr foot: £355.4s'[935]

Weeding through the technical jargon, it appears that Bachope extended the size of the original office houses. Another item further down in the document confirms the expansion of the office houses: 'It of Aditionall Ayler upon the two ends of the office houses that fronts the Court measuring 51 foot at 8S pr foot: £20.8s.'[936] The second point indicates that the office houses were originally separate buildings (as theorised by Rowan) and that Bachope connected them to the main house. This is one apparent discrepancy that can be put to rest: the wings were expanded and connected to the main house within two years of the start of construction. In a similar light, the pavilions described by the contract were also much smaller than what appeared in *Vitruvius Britannicus.* However, another clause states: 'It of Ayler upon the two pavilions they being 2 foot Larger each way then what was Agreed upon, extending 198 foot small hunder at 8S pr foot: £79.4s.'[937] In other words, Sherriff describes, in technical terms, the additional expansion of the pavilions.

These post-contract projects are important because they render the discrepancies between the contract and *Vitruvius Britannicus* null, thereby confirming the reliability of Colen Campbell's images of Bruce's Hopetoun. This document also demonstrates that, although Hopetoun's patrons did not

935 Sherriff, 'Acct of Additionall Mason work.'
936 *Ibid.*
937 *Ibid.*

stick exclusively to the 1698 contract, the adjustments that were made happened early in the building process. They did not wait until Hopetoun was nearing some semblance of completion before deciding to alter the original structure. Instead, they could see that they wanted to modify the original design after only the basic shell was constructed. The most obvious explanation for this expansion is that Charles and Henrietta Hope needed a larger house to fit their expanding family. In any case, it already seems clear that Bruce's Hopetoun was built in one continuous phase rather than two separate ones. Based on the aforementioned documentation, the basic shell was complete at the end of 1700 and adjustments were made in 1701. As such, it is likely that the basic structural aspects of the mason-work at Hopetoun House were completed by 1702. This, of course, has long been considered by historians as the house's initial completion date (before further projects began in 1706) based on Colen Campbell's brief description of the house in 1717.[938] However, just because this portion of construction was finished by 1702 does not mean that it was anywhere near complete. Indeed, there were yet a number of areas of construction yet to be achieved (including further mason-work).

Since the basic structure was mostly complete by this point, a number of craftsmen were employed at Hopetoun simultaneously to try and complete it. Because these crafts were not nearly as expensive as mason-work, Lady Margaret only ended up paying £1,625.12s Scots total (or £687.18s.3d) for every craft except masonry in 1701.[939] Alexander Eizat, the wright, stayed on at Hopetoun from the previous year and was paid on 8 February, 8 May, 21 August, 5 November, and 27 December, 1701.[940] A blacksmith, William

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938 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus,* Volume 2, p. 4 ([London], [1722 or 1725]), from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* Gale, University of Edinburgh, published 1 October, 2003, accessed 5 September, 2017, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&proId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tabID=T001&docId=CW10642500&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel-FACSIMILE. Also, see: Rowan, p. 187.

939 See Appendix H.

940 Eizat, 'Acct of Money Pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705'; Alexander Eizat, 'Acct of Severall particulars at Abercorn preceedings Decr 1701,' 27 December, 1701, building account and receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT.

Aitken, and a plumber, Joseph Forester, also began working at Hopetoun in 1701. Aitken signed a contract on 11 March, 1701, wherein he agreed to provide brass- and ironwork for Hopetoun's main house and office houses.[941] According to the contract, 'the sd Wm Aitkine he obliedges him to be good and sufficient work conform to the patterns given in be him to Ldy Margaret Hope of Hoptoun.'[942] Lady Margaret's role as patroness extended into the more intricate aspects of Hopetoun's design and construction. Furthermore, it is clear that Lady Margaret's influence continued into the first years of the eighteenth century—two years after her son got married. Aitken was to carry out a wide array of projects, ranging from tool repair to rails for staircases. However, because so much of what Aitken crafted were tools and hinges for windows and doors, his work will not be a big focus here. Nonetheless, the start of his work was accompanied by the start of Joseph Forester's plumbing work at Hopetoun House. Although no initiating contract has been found for Joseph Forester, he signed receipts of discharge on 3 July, 1 August, and 26 December, 1701.[943] His work, of course, consisted largely of bringing water to Hopetoun. Their work was to carry them into 1702.

ii. 1702

Only one person employed by Lady Margaret had so far completed part of what he had been hired to do. Bachope signed one last receipt of discharge on 24 December, 1702; though the entirety of Hopetoun House had not yet been built, the basic structure of the main house appears to have been completed. [944] As will be seen, he still had the ornamental mason-work (described by the contract) to do. He also had to take care of the office

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941 George Keith, 'Contract between Thomas Pringle and William Aitken, smith, 11 March, 1701,' 11 March, 1701, contract for smith-work, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT.

942 *Ibid.*

943 Joseph Forester, 'Receipts of Discharge Joseph Forester: Abercorn July ye 3d 1701 and Abercorn, Agust ye ffirst 1701,' 3 July and 1 August, 1701, receipts of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT; Joseph Forester, 'Abercorn ye 26 December 1701 Receipt of Discharge Joseph Forester,' 26 December, 1701, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT.

944 Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of discharge, Tobias Bachope, 24 December 1702,' 24 December, 1702, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

houses and landscape structures to build, many of which were described in previous chapters. Therefore, the focus of Bachope's projects would shift in the ensuing years. Meanwhile, other artisans' work began in earnest, which is noted by the spike in total building expenditures from £1,625.12s Scots in 1701 to £4,252.18s Scots in 1702.[945] It is clear that Alexander Eizat continued working at Hopetoun House in 1702 based on the fact that he was paid on 4 February, 6 May, 29 July, and 12 November, 1702.[946] Joseph Forester's presence at Hopetoun can be confirmed based on the receipts of discharge he signed on 13 April and 31 October, 1702.[947] Over the course of 1701 and 1702, Forester was tasked with receiving the lead he was to use for pipes at Hopetoun and then crafting and installing the house's basic plumbing work.

Some of his projects included installing pipes at 'ye funtoun head' (this was presumably the large fountain located in the ovular pond in the *parterre*) and cleaning clogged pipes.[948] Moreover, he made 'four Lairg Squair pipes for bringen ye watter off ye Roffe both seides off ye hous.'[949] That he crafted and mounted gutters at Hopetoun's main house in circa 1702 indicates that it had begun to be transformed from a stone shell into a functioning country house. Another plumbing-work account specifies that these gutters were placed on Hopetoun's east and west façades.[950] That Charles Hope signed a contract with a plasterer, George Humphray, on 17 June, 1702 also indicates the main house was under steady development.[951] Humphray was charged

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945 See Appendix H.

946 Eizat, 'Acct of Money Pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705.'

947 Joseph Forester, 'Receipt of Discharge, Joseph Fforester Plumber 13 April 1702,' 13 April, 1702, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT; Joseph Forester, 'Receipt of Discharge Joseph Fforester plummer, Oct 31 1702,' 31 October, 1702, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

948 Joseph Forester, 'Charge off Lead Recived by Joseph Forester plumer in Abercorn, stons & pounds, £ S d,' circa 1702, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

949 *Ibid.*

950 Unknown Writer (Joseph Forester?), 'An Accompt of lead work done att ye house of Abercorne since June 1701 till march 1703 as foll,' circa March, 1703, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

951 George Keith, 'Contract betwixt the Laird of Hoptoun and George Humphray plaisterer, 1702,' 17 June, 1702, contract for plaster-work, NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT.

with ‘Work[ing] the hail plaister work within the said Charles Hope his new house of Abercorne All of good sufficient tight and smooth plaister work.’[952] Not only was Humphray responsible for plastering the walls and ceilings of the main house, laigh rooms, and office houses, he was also to craft Hopetoun’s decorative plaster-work (‘Cornish work,’ ‘Astragall moulding,’ ‘any smaller Cornishes in Low rooms & office houses’).[953] Despite the start of decorative work in the main house’s interiors, there was yet a great deal to be done.

iii. 1703

The total building expenditures for Hopetoun increased again to £5,856.8s.8d Scots in 1703.[954] Alexander Eizat was paid for another year’s work on 4 February, 1 April, 9 July, and 6 September, 1703.[955] However, according to building accounts from 1703, several craftsmen (including Forester) had shifted the main focus of their time and labour from the main house to the office houses and other functional spaces in 1703. Hopetoun’s main house was in the process of becoming a liveable space. However, that does not mean that it was yet complete. Indeed, the remaining work yet to be carried out at the interior and exterior of the main house was decorative in nature. Bachope still worked on the windows for the main staircase (imbedded in the cupola) and the entablature on the east façade of the main house.[956] Another account lists paint-jobs carried out by Thomas Warrander at Hopetoun between June, 1701 and December, 1703.[957] He painted ‘the thre [sic] rooms’ in the basement, the ‘Great Vestible’ in the principal storey,

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952 *Ibid.*

953 *Ibid.*

954 See Appendix H.

955 Eizat, ‘Acct of Money Pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705.’

956 Bachope, ‘November 12th The measure of Masone Work wrought in ye Doge house and dyks att Abercorn Belonging to the Earle of Hoptoun Done be Tobias Baick [Bachope] Masone’; Tobias Bachope, ‘Ane Acompt of Masone work wrought att ye Doge house stable and Dykes att Abercorn Done be Tobias Baick [Bachope] Masone,’ circa 1703, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT.

957 Thomas Warrander, ‘Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work Done at Hoptone house, for The Right Honourable the Earle of Hoptone by Thomas Warrander painter in Edr,’ circa December, 1703, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 3,025, HHPT.

and ‘ane bed Char; & ane Closet’ in the second storey each an oak colour (Warrander probably just varnished these rooms).[958] Although the basement must have contained more than three rooms, the three rooms indicated in this document may have been separate from any work spaces. This clause also hints that the fireplace and entrance doorjamb in the vestibule (entrance hall) were painted to resemble marble.[959] Although a marble mantelpiece resides there now, it evidently replaced a wooden one. He subsequently painted the ‘the Capitalls & flowers of the Great dore piece of the Vestible wt Inglish Gold.’[960] The vestibule was not austere but was rather fitted out to impress visitors.

In another item, Warrander describes ‘Collereing the Belcony roume in the 3d [second] Story three tymes over wt ane pearle colour in oyll & marbeling the Chimny.’[961] The balcony room is believed to have been the room directly above the Garden Parlour as it would have opened onto the balcony of the garden façade portico and overlooked the *parterre*.[962] The choice to paint this room a pearl colour would have made the room bright and airy—which was important for a room that was essentially an extension of the garden. Because this room has since been transformed into a hall and series of rooms, it is hard to picture how the balcony room would have looked. Nevertheless, Warrander’s account provides further insight on the original layout of Bruce’s Hopetoun in the very next clause. Warrander states that he painted ‘the EARLES [sic] Bed Cham 116 ells & in the Ante char betwixt it & the Counteses Bed Cham.’ Not only does this item indicate that Warrander began decoratively painting Lord and Lady Hopetoun’s apartments in 1703, it also tells modern readers some of the original floor plan in Bruce’s Hopetoun. Lord and Lady Hopetoun’s apartments (comprising bedchamber and closets) fanned out on either side of a single antechamber.

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958 *Ibid.*
959 *Ibid.*
960 *Ibid.*
961 *Ibid.*
962 See Chapter II.

Warrander's documentation also serves another very important purpose in that it helps piece together what else of the house had been completed by 1703. Although no building accounts detailing the wright-work performed by Eizat performed between 1699 and 1704 have been found, the decorative projects described above can help suss out some of the projects he did complete.[963] In addition to the panels, door jambs, and wooden wall-linings of the balcony room, bedchambers, and vestibule, Eizat was also responsible for the elaborate wood-work of the main staircase. Not only did this include the baluster, panels, and wall-linings, but also the intricately carved vegetation, as well. Similar woodwork that survives in the Garden Parlour and second-storey bedchambers are, according to James Macaulay, the result of his handywork.[964] Since Warrander managed to decorate some of these rooms in 1703 indicates that Eizat had completed these spaces before then. Warrander's craftsmanship was not Hopetoun's only form of interior decoration, however.

Other decorative work for Hopetoun House was imported from Holland. According to an itemised list of commissions, the Hopes imported 37 paintings that depicted allegories and scenes from classical literature and history from the popular Dutch painter, Philip Tideman, in 1703 and 1704 (twelve were imported in 1703 and 24 in 1704).[965] It should be noted that a page is missing from Tideman's aforementioned list of commissions. As a consequence, there are five paintings missing from this list. Combining this document with what is listed in Basil Skinner's 1964 *Burlington Magazine* article (the only scholarship published on these paintings), the missing paintings were: a cycle of three paintings depicting Adonis and Venus, an

963 It should be noted that James Macaulay referenced a building account written by Eizat in 1699 (cited as 'Acct. of wright work at Hoptoun Beginning 1st of August 1699 by Alexr. Ezatt.' Bundle 3463, Hopetoun MSS' by Macaulay). However, it could not be found by the author of this dissertation. The only information regarding this document can be found in Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 5.

964 Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 5.

965 Philip Tideman, 'Anno 1703 deer Ordre van den Heer Drummond genhildert,' circa 1703-4, list of paintings (Dutch), NRAS/888 Bundle 635, HHPT.

allegory of universal prosperity, and an allegory of winter.[966] All of these paintings were placed around the main house, namely in Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments, several second storey guest bedchambers and antechambers, and the main staircase. Most of Tideman's paintings were imported in 1704 while Warrander carried out further decorative-painting projects at Hopetoun.

iv. 1704

Warrander not only painted the decorative- and panel-work of walls, but also furniture. He painted eight chairs destined for Lady Hopetoun's bedchamber, and applied some 'colouring work' to her blue bedstead.[967] While many other pieces were simply oiled to protect the original wood, he also painted two bed cornices white and silver.[968] What this also tells modern readers is that furniture had been moved into the main house—particularly the private apartments—by 1703 and 1704. Furthermore, Warrander's account gives the modern reader an idea of what the original decorative schemes were for certain rooms. Although the exterior façades were austere, the interiors certainly were not! This idea is underscored by the fact that an additional 24 paintings by Philip Tideman, also depicting scenes from Classic literature, came to Hopetoun over the course of 1704. However, decorative work was not all that took place at the main house in 1704.

Bachope's work at the main house resumed in 1704, and his main focus was on the east façade and the staircase leading up to the portico. He and two masons were employed to 'doun tak[e] of the stair that entred to the vestable' (which probably linked the portico and the terrace) and to help

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966 Tideman, 'Anno 1703 deer Ordre,' NRAS/888 Bundle 635; Basil Skinner, 'Philip Tideman and the Allegorical Decorations at Hopetoun House,' *The Burlington Magazine* vol. 106, no 737 (Augs., 1964): pp. 370 and 373, http://www.jstor.org/stable/874371.

967 *Ibid.*

968 Thomas Warrander, 'Accompt of the Painting, Guilding, and Collouring work Done at Hoptone house'; Thomas Warrander, 'Accompt of Additionall Work Since,' December, 1704, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 3,025, HHPT.

carve the portico arches.[969] Another mason, David Mather, was 'at the stair that goes doun to the [vestibule] and at the helving of the turns of the porteigou [sic].'[970] John Andreu and John Smith also helped polish and carry out the ornamental work of the portico.[971] Once again, Bachope had finished the basic structural shell of Hopetoun's main house by 1702—which is what consequently allowed other craftsmen to begin working to make the edifice functional and liveable. Although the mason-work was nearly complete, there was clearly some remnant decorative work left. It is likely that Bachope and his workmen built temporary staircases and entrances to allow the other craftsmen to work without fear of damaging anything. Waiting until the house was ready for decorative mason-work explains why Bachope had to have staircases deconstructed. This is an important insight into how construction work was carried out in this period. The masons were, of course, accompanied by other craftsmen working towards finishing the main house.

Alexander Eizat was paid for carrying out wright-work projects on 19 January and 12 September, 1704.[972] George Humphray, who signed his contract with the First Earl in 1702, accompanied Eizat in carrying out plasterwork for the main house between March, 1703 and May, 1704.[973] Humphray's building account does not detail where he conducted plaster-work but simply states that he generally plastered 'Roofs Cornises wall And Walls, yr frieses'; he most likely carried out these projects throughout the house.[974] Aside from Eizat and Humphray, Warrander was also still present at Hopetoun in 1704 and was subsequently able to continue his paint-jobs for the main house. That year, he varnished 'all the wanscot [oak] lyning in the

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969 Tobias Bachope, 'Accomptt of work wrought to the Earell of Hoptoun,' 20 May, 1704, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

970 *Ibid.*

971 *Ibid.*

972 Eizat, 'Acct of Money Pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705.'

973 George Humphray, 'An accompt of Work wrought to the Earle of Hopton in Hopton house by me Geo Humphrays Plaistrer from ye 16 day of March 1703 to ye 1 day of May 1704,' 1 May, 1704, building account and receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

974 *Ibid.*

Earles Closet.'[975] He also painted five oak mantelpieces in oil in addition to the ones in the Earl's and Countess' bedchambers.[976] In other words, the fireplaces throughout the main house (not just in the vestibule) were originally wooden rather than marble.

The blacksmith, William Aitken, also provided iron- and brass-work for Hopetoun House. Much of what he crafted were still tools and general repairs, as well as keys and locks for the entire house. He worked at various fireplaces and chimneys around the house, such as those in one of the dining rooms, drawing rooms, and bedchambers.[977] More importantly, Rowan has also long theorised that it was Aitken who crafted the iron baluster for the southern staircase.[978] In August, 1704, Aitken provides the following item in one of his many blacksmithing accounts: 'the stair in the intrie being 60 Ston & 2 pond weght at siven pond a Ston.'[979] This most likely refers to the iron rail that was intended for the sweeping staircase linking the portico to the terrace—especially since it has already been noted that Bachope was employed there in 1704. Even though none of the blacksmithing accounts dating from between 1701 and 1703 have been found, Warrander can provide more context and clues to Aitken's activities in that period. In his account dating from June, 1701 to December, 1703, Warrander records that he painted 'twise oer wt ane pearle Coller in oyll the Iron rails of the back stair case & the two stairs of Communication betwixt the princll House and office houses.'[980] While the latter two staircases would have been in the main house's pavilions, the former most likely refers to the southern staircase next to the main staircase, thereby confirming Rowan's theory. Not only does

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975 Thomas Warrander, 'Accompt of Additionall Work Since,' building account, December, 1704, from 'Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work Done at Hoptone house, for The Right Honourable the Earle of Hoptone by Thomas Warrander painter in Edr,' Bundle 3025, HHPT.

976 *Ibid.*

977 *Ibid*

978 Rowan, p. 185.

979 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work wroght to the right Honorabel the Erale of Hoptoun for Hoptoun hous wroght be me William Aitken Smith,' building account, May-August, 1704, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

980 Warrander, 'Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work Done at Hoptone house.'

Warrander tell modern readers that it was originally painted a pearl colour, the southern staircase also would have had to have been completed between 1701 and 1703 in order to be painted in that period. Once again, it is clear that the main structural features of the house were completed by 1702 or 1703 and the ensuing years were devoted to decorative work or finishing touches. This type of work continued in 1705.

v. 1705

Work at Hopetoun spiked again from £4,729.16s.10d Scots in 1704 to £10,301.12s.7d Scots in 1705.[981] Part of these expences were again from Eizat, who received two more payments on 22 January and 18 June, 1705.[982] An account has finally surfaced detailing what jobs he performed that year, as well. Not only did he craft some furniture for Hopetoun, he created and installed the moulding for the north (or great) dining room, and removed stains from Lady Hopetoun's closet floor.[983] Another craftsman still employed at Hopetoun was Joseph Forester, who installed more gutters on the west side of the main house roof to direct rainwater away from the portico balcony.[984] Although Forester had continued working at Hopetoun in 1704, he was focussed mainly on the office houses rather than the main house.[985] It was also in this year that he began installing large pipes that connected a large 'bason' to the sea.[986] Tobias Bachope also had a hand at crafting this basin, in which he laid 'pethment in the bottom.'[987] In fact, this account later clarifies that there were two basins—one in the wilderness and one in the

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981 See Appendix H.

982 Eizat, 'Acct of Money Pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705.'

983 Alexander Eizat, 'Acct of wright work at Hoptoun House from the 30th July to 22 Decr 1705 By Alexr Eizat,' circa December, 1705, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

984 Joseph Forester, 'Delivered an account to the Honble the Earl of Hopton Oct 6th 1703 came to £27.11s.4d,' begun 6 October, 1703, this entry from 20 April, 1705, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

985 Forester, 'Delivered an account.'

986 Forester, 'Delivered an account'; Joseph Forester, 'An accompt of Lead Work done at the house of Abercorn from June 1701 untill Decr 1705 as foll,' building account, circa December, 1705, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

987 Tobias Bachope, 'Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of Hoptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous.'

'kenell yard.'[988] These large vessels must have been Hopetoun's main water sources and would have been essential for the main house and office houses. While this was not "decorative work," it must have been a very extensive project that took a long time to complete. It also, again, provided water for the entire house, and so was also a hugely important task. Other jobs carried out by Bachope and his men in 1705, meanwhile, could constitute as finishing touches.

Bachope continued work on the terrace and vestibule staircase at the east façade in 1705.[989] Another building account from the same year specifies that Bachope laid down pavement for the 'tarras walk' and carried out 'Hewin work' on the vestibule staircase, which presumably linked the frontispiece to the terrace.[990] That same year, John Scott (likely in the employ of Bachope) wrought door and window jambs on the east façade and in the roof cornice.[991] He also helped build walls for the inner and outer courts, which would have contained the main entrance gate.[992] David Mather's jobs were even more intensive. One project required him to level 'the fot of the main stair' and to replace it with marble.[993] He was also required to lay the stairs for the west entrance with marble.[994] In addition to final touches, this spike in work at Hopetoun's main house seems to be due in part to the fact that some areas had to be redone—especially given the fact that parts of the house were expanded in size part-way through construction. Work continued at only a slightly slower pace in 1706, during which time building expenditures came to £7,379.14s.3 2/3d Scots.[995]

vi. 1706

988 *Ibid.*
989 *Ibid.*
990 Tobias Bachope, 'The Measure of Masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptouns house done be Tobias Bachope Masone Deser 5th 1705,' 5 December, 1705, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.
991 Ibid.
992 Bachope, 'Doubell of the accomptts'; Tobias Bachope, 'The Measure of Masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptoun house done be Tobias Bachope masone.'
993 *Ibid.*
994 *Ibid.*
995 See Appendix H.

Bachope and other masons in his employ did a further set of extensive masonry projects in 1706. By this point, their work definitely dealt mostly with the office houses and functional spaces, as well as with the areas pertaining to Hopetoun's landscape. Nevertheless, surviving accounts from 1706 record that they were still working on decorating the main house. For example, two building accounts record that they continued working on the garden entrance staircase from the year before.[996] In addition, Bachope and his men worked on the west façade as a whole, such as on the 'Easler and plints of the Court,' as well as the 'Astrigalls of it.'[997] Within the context of this document, it is believed that the term "court" denotes façade as the thought of an actual courtyard containing plinths and astragals is frankly hard to picture. As an aside, the notion that a court encompassed a building's façade and the space in front of it (the courtyard) in the early eighteenth century suggests that they were not thought of as separate entities. Instead, they were thought of as a single, three-dimensional entity and were designed with the physical experience of real people in mind. In any case, this item states that Bachope and his men installed the decorative fenestration in the west façade.

The fact that this account then states that Bachope and his men wrought the 'the bases of the pillars [columns],' the column shafts, and the 'Capitalls of it' shows that the west façade portico came to be assembled in 1706, as well.[998] Bruce's east façade contained pilasters in the portico, but not stand-alone columns. The west façade portico, meanwhile, still does contain free-standing Ionic columns that support a balcony. Finally, he finished the 'Architrive in the balconie that goes betwixt the pillars.'[999] Thus, in addition to hewing the basic classical details of the west façade, he also spent part of 1706 erecting the west façade portico. David Mather, William

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996 Tobias Bachope, 'Ane Accompt of foots of heuen work wrought to the Earell of Hoptoun by Tobias Bachope in the year 1706 as ffollous,' circa 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT; Tobias Bachope, 'The accompt of Mason work wrought att Hoptoun house by Tobias Bachope masone in ye year 1706,' circa 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

997 Bachope, 'Ane Accompt of foots of heuen work wrought to the Earell of Hoptoun.'

998 *Ibid.*

999 *Ibid.*

Cowburgh, and John Brown were also employed at performing various tasks at the west portico's balcony, such as 'polishing the Cornish of the west balconie and Cuting the astrigalls of it.'[1000] They (as well as some other, more minor masons) also worked on the carving work around the west façade door.[1001] Although elements pertaining to the balcony had been built around the portico (such as the balcony room or gutters), it took until 1706 for the main house to reach such a state of completion that it could support this decorative feature. Bachope also worked on the 'Squier and Rustik Easler of the parts with the Astrigalls,' which presumably meant he tried to emphasise the rustication of the basement storey.[1002]

Although the bulk of construction on the main house centred around mason-work in in 1706, glasswork and blacksmith-work were also carried out in this period. David Burton, the glazier, installed new windows and mended old ones. For example, he fitted the Garden Room, cupola, and a pavilion with sash windows.[1003] Another account specifies that two cupola windows were fitted with new, leaded glass.[1004] He also installed French glass in a window in the vestibule.[1005] Meanwhile, he also put in old-fashioned lozenge windows in unspecified locations in the main house and pavilions.[1006] This varied use of window-types implies that, even though Hopetoun was designed for wealthy aristocrats, lozenge windows were still cheaper alternatives that were suitable to less public parts of the house. Meanwhile, based on the image of the main house in *Vitruvius Britannicus,* the sash windows would have been installed in key areas of display. In spite of this flurry of activity, work at the main house essentially tapered off after 1706. Although some projects were clearly still carried out at the main house,

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1000 Unknown Writer, 'Accomptt of days wroght to the Earill of Hoptoun since the 19 of Feberuar 1706 to ye 23 of December 1706 as follous,' circa 23 December, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

1001 *Ibid.*

1002 Bachope, 'Ane Accompt of foots of heuen work wrought to the Earell of Hoptoun.'

1003 David Burton, 'Ane Acompt of new windows and windows mendet in Hoptoun House in October the 9 1706,' 9 October, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

1004 Burton, 'Accompt The Earle of Hoptoun to David Burton Glasier in Edr.'

1005 Burton, 'Accompt The Earle of Hoptoun to David Burton Glasier,' this entry from 6 September, 1706, Bundle 629.

1006 *Ibid.*

Hopetoun House's office houses and landscape (both organised and agricultural) became the chief focus of these craftsmen from about 1704.

vii. 1707-1719

The total amount spent on construction projects was only £1,307.2s.8d Scots in 1707 and little of that was spent on the main house itself.[1007] The only project of note was that David Burton installed a number of lozenge windows around the main house—some with French glass.[1008] Otherwise, the First Earl's architectural focus had shifted further away from Hopetoun's main house to the parish church, Abercorn Kirk. Indeed, the fact that the First Earl signed a contract with David Mather on 11 March, 1707 to initiate the construction of the new family aisle, designed by William Bruce, indicates that the main house was nearly finished.[1009] Now that the socio-economic and political headquarters for the Hope family was essentially complete, it was possible for the First Earl to make another important, socio-religious stamp in the area. This addition would have done the service of modernising the medieval kirk while also cementing the Hope family's status and local presence. David Mather is recorded as having worked on Hopetoun's main house in 1704 and 1706 and evidently did well enough to become the chief mason for this new project. It also indicates that he, and other masons in his employ, were not as desperately needed at the main house. Although they did carry out a few projects at the latter location, they were such tasks as 'Alltring of ye Clloset Chimnay.'[1010] Based on one of Mather's building accounts, it appears that Mather completed the aisle by the end of 1707.[1011]

1007 See Appendix H.

1008 David Burton, 'Acompt the hail of Hoppton as David Burton,' circa 12 December, 1707, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

1009 William Lamb, 'Charles Hope and David Mather, 11 March, 1707, Contract for work on Abercorn Kirk, written by William Lamb,' building contract, 11 March, 1707, NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT.

1010 David Mather, 'An acomptt of days wages wrought to the Earell of Hopetoun by David Mather and his men in the year 1707,' circa 1707, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT.

1011 David Mather, 'Ane accomptt of Masson work wrought To the Earell of Hoptoun by David Mather at the Ayell and other works in the year 1707 as folloues,' 8 January, 1708, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT.

Enough of the aisle had been constructed by 15 May, 1707 that Charles Hope signed another contract with William Eizat (Alexander Eizat's son), in which Eizat agreed to carry out the wright-work at the new aisle for Abercorn Kirk.[1012] David Burton also installed eight sash windows with imported glass from Hamburg in the new aisle.[1013] Even less work was carried out the following year.

The total expenditures for 1708 totalled just £607.5s.10d Scots. David Burton installed two more lozenge windows at Abercorn Kirk.[1014] He also fitted glass for windows in Hopetoun House, including the charter room (one of Lord Hopetoun's closets), cupola, the 'black and white' room, and the great dining room.[1015] Burton then signed a receipt of discharge confirming that he 'Received full payment of all work don [sic] to my Lord Earll of Hoptoun'; he was thus finished working at Hopetoun.[1016] The only other craftsman employed at the main house in 1708 was the painter, Thomas Warrander. He painted the 'wholl fyn Iron work on this front of the Inner Court' and the 'railes of the starecase of the portigo' with an 'iron Couller.'[1017] The former item was perhaps the iron gate that lead into the inner courtyard. In addition, Warrander painted the 'Carved stanwork betwixt ye arches of the Inner Court' with white lead and oil.[1018] In other words, this was the decorative carving in between the arches that made up the inner courtyard wall that encompassed the gate.[1019] Macaulay theorises that both this wall and gate are currently situated at the north and south ends of the house.[1020] The rest of

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1012 Thomas Pringle, 'Contract between Charles Hope and William Eizat for Abercorn Kirk, written by Thomas Pringle, 15 May, 1707,' 15 May, 1707, building contract, NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT.

1013 David Burton, 'Acomptt the Earll of Hoppon [sic] to David Burton Glasier, 12 Octr 1707,' building account, 12 October, 1707, NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT.

1014 David Burton, 'Acompt the Eairll of Hopton to David Burton 24 Janry 1708,' building account, 24 January, 1708, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT.

1015 *Ibid.*

1016 *Ibid.*

1017 Thomas Warrander, 'Accompt of all the painting work don By Thomas Warrander at Hopton house, & ye Church summe Janry 1706 To Septr 1708,' September, 1708, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 3,025, HHPT. It should be noted that began in January, 1708, despite what the title of the document says.

1018 *Ibid.*

1019 *Ibid.*

1020 Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 7.

Warrander's painting projects, which included gilding two picture frames in the great dining room, were mostly minor finishing touches.[1021]

It would seem that Hopetoun's main house was essentially complete, especially given the fact that absolutely no work was carried out in 1709.[1022] A portion of the £187.12s.10d.2fa Scots spent in 1710 were payments to David Mather and William Eizat.[1023] Most projects carried out at Hopetoun between 1711 and 1719 were mainly in the nature of repairs and maintenance.[1024] The main focus of construction for Hopetoun House remained fixed on the office houses and any structures pertaining to the landscape. David Mather signed another contract with the First Earl for the construction of the gardener's house on 7 September, 1711.[1025] Both parties signed another contract for the construction of oxen byres next to the dog kennel yard on 3 April, 1714.[1026] This notion is hugely important in helping to confirm the revised timeline for the construction of Hopetoun's main house. It shows that the basic structure and layout was done around 1703 and that the decorative work was complete by 1706. From 1707, the biggest building projects at Hopetoun House pertained to the Kirk, the office houses, or the landscape (agricultural and/or organised). Anything carried out at the main house between 1707 and 1719 pertained to maintenance, repair-works, or minor adjustments to what had already been completed. The question remains as to why this revised timeline is significant.

Conclusion

1021 Warrander, 'Accompt of all the painting work don.'

1022 See Appendices G and H.

1023 See Appendix H. Also, David Mather, 'Receipt of Discharge David Mather 28 January 1710,' 28 January, 1710, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT; William Eizat, 'Receipt of Discharge William Eizat 23 March 1710,' 23 March, 1710, receipt of discharge, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT.

1024 See Appendix G.

1025 William Bradful, 'Contract betwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather, 1711,' 7 September, 1711, building contract, NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT.

1026 William Bradful, 'Agreement btwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather Mason in Kirkhouses,' 3 April, 1714, building contract, NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT.

This is the first attempt at establishing a new timeline for the construction of Hopetoun House's main house since Rowan's 1984 essay. Through intensive archival research, the order of operations has been reconstructed. Most importantly, it has been found that the construction of the house constituted one project which lasted from 1699 to 1707. This is contrary to Rowan's paper, which states that the house was initially completed in 1702 and further work began in 1706. The main shell of the house was built by the end of 1700, and some modifications to the initial design were made over the course of 1701. These changes help to bridge the gap between the commission that was described in the 1698 contract and what appears in Campbell's second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Alexander Eizat began wright work at the main house in 1699. Although none of his accounts survive from before 1705, it can safely be assumed that he completed the wood panelling and carved decorative work of the balcony room, some bedchambers, the vestibule, and the main staircase by 1703. Thomas Warrander carried out varnishing- and paintwork in those room in 1703.

On that same note, it can be assumed that William Aitken wrought the iron rails for the south staircase by 1703 because Warrander painted it a pearl colour that same year. George Humphray plastered the entire house and crafted the interior Classical ornamental work by 1704. Lord and Lady Hopetoun's bedchambers, the main staircase, and the second storey guest suites were fitted out with Philip Tideman paintings during 1703 and 1704. Joseph Forester installed gutters and established Hopetoun House's water supply by 1705. David Burton installed windows and glasswork around the main house during this period, as well. Tobias Bachope and other masons were responsible for completing the east façade portico in 1705 and the west façade portico in 1706. They also made modifications to both façades during this time. It can safely be assumed that, aside from some minor projects and repairs, the main house was essentially completed by 1707 as the chief focus of the First Earl and the craftsmen in his employ shifted to Abercorn Kirk and the office houses between 1707 and 1719. In essence, Hopetoun House

became habitable by 1707, which was well before Campbell published the engraved images of it in 1717. Of significance is the notion that the landscape—both the formal and agricultural sectors—was developed alongside the construction of the main house during the first years of the eighteenth century. This underscores just how complex and extensive the construction of brand-new country houses was. What is left to discuss in relation to Hopetoun's main house is how it was designed and built to function on a daily basis.

Chapter X: A Social and Functional Analysis of the Main House's Floor Plan

'And in two Miles further I arrived at *Hopton* [sic], the fine Seat of the Earl of *Hopton.* This Palace was built some years ago of fine Free-stone, exactly after the Model of the House of *Kinross*; but my Lord is now adding two semicircular Wings of four Stories high to the Front, adorn'd with Pillars and Ilasters; which when finished, will be by much the finest Seat in *Britain.* You enter it from a Vestibule, supported with Pillars, into a large Hall, Floored with Marble, from whence runs of each Side to the Front, a Drawing-Room, a Dining-Room, Bedchamber, and Closet. And behind this Hall, fronting the Garden, is a spacious Salloon, with the same Site [suite] of Rooms. The Stair-Case is in the Middle, between the Hall and Salloon, and is finely adorned with the History of the Heathen Gods, done at Antwerp, and put into Pannels from top to Bottom. In the great Dining-Room are a great many Family Pictures; and over the Chimney, Noah, and his Family, offering up Sacrifice for their Deliverance in the Ark; a fine Picture done at Rome, by Joseppo Chiari.

The Court-Yard is callonaded [sic], and adorn'd with Statues and Vases; but since the Building the two Wings, the Court is to be extended to the Breadth of them, and proportionably longer.'[1027]

John Macky's description of the interior of Hopetoun House in A Journey thro' Scotland (1723)

'Hopetoun House, *in* Scotland*,* p. 75, 76, *and* 77

Is the Seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Hopeton.* The Designs were given by Sir *William Bruce,* who was justly esteem'd the best Architect of his Time in that Kingdom; it was begun about the Year 1698, and finished four Years after. I have made one single and one double Plate; the first contains a general Plan of the Offices and first Story, where is a Portico, Hall, and four very handsome Apartments; in the middle is a Geometrical Octagon Stair-Case, which leads up to the second Story, and over the Hall is a noble Salon, and the same Number of Apartments as below, and all well finished and sumptuously furnished.'[1028]

Colen Campbell's description of the interior of Hopetoun House in Vitruvius Britannicus (1717)

Introduction

1027 Macky, p. 201-2.

1028 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus,* Volume 2, ([London], [1722 or 1725]), p. 4, from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* Gale, University of Edinburgh, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&proId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tabID=T001&docId=CW10642500&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel-FACSIMILE (accessed 5 September, 2017).

Architects evaluated and organised the formal spaces in the same way they did the offices. The spatial organisation of Hopetoun's principal floor (which encompassed the main block, pavilions, and wings) was designed primarily for function. This was because the organisation of space in country houses was nuanced and adapted to the needs of their patrons. If these matters were unimportant, the layout of every country house would be the same. Although the visual design of Hopetoun's floor plan is nearly symmetrical, its spatial organisation was not. This leads to the question as to how Hopetoun House worked on a daily basis. Like every country house, Hopetoun was made up of two spatially separate but functionally intertwined sections: the offices, which will be the focus of the next chapter; and the formal rooms, which will be discussed here. Much of the current understanding of the layout of Hopetoun's apartment has heretofore derived from the Macky and Campbell passages cited above (used in conjunction with the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engravings).[1029] While Macky discusses the layout from the perspective of individual room function, Campbell was more concerned with the general arrangement of the principal storey. However, Hopetoun's building accounts and Edward's floor plans of Kinross House can provide more insight into the layout of Bruce's Hopetoun House.

Hopetoun's principal floor plan was a typical Baroque plan with a formal, processional route. It began with the introductory spaces, which is the subject of the first section of this chapter. The inner courtyard was the first of these and was comprised of the stables to the north and south and the terrace, colonnades, and offices houses to the west. Although it might seem strange to include the stables in this section, they were an important part of the inner courtyard and added to its prestige. However, the stables will be discussed separately from the inner courtyard because they straddled the processional and service realms. In any case, the inner courtyard led to the east façade portico and entrance hall. Although the lowest-ranking visitors

[1029] It should be noted that Macky identified the drawing room as the first room in the processional suite, although the dining room most likely took that place in reality.

(such as tenants) were relegated to the laigh hall, the entrance hall was the most public and socially mixed room of the formal plan. The next stage in Hopetoun's procession was the *salon,* which was still called the great dining room in Scotland at the turn of the eighteenth century.[1030] According to Colen Campbell, this room was located on the second storey above the entrance hall. As such, the main staircase also became an important part of the introduction to the main house.

The *salon* subsequently led to a series of apartments, consisting of dining room, drawing room or antechamber (or both), bedchamber, and closet. Parlours, located in the first-storey Garden Room and second-storey Balcony Room facing the west façade, lent themselves as informal and intimate sitting rooms for these apartments. The second section will discuss the possible arrangements of Hopetoun's state apartment: while it has long been held by scholars that it was located on the north side of the principal storey, there is also evidence to suggest it was situated on the second storey like the state apartment at Kinross House was. The third section will concern itself with the private apartments belonging to Lord and Lady Hopetoun. While this chapter will examine the fashionable and socio-political elements of Hopetoun's main house, it will also discuss the human element of how it was designed to be used on a daily basis.

I. The Introductory Spaces of the Processional Route

a. The Stables and its Ancillary Spaces

The stables linked the inner courtyard to the service areas of the main house, which is why the stables are being discussed separately from the inner courtyard. However, they still formed a key part of the inner courtyard and would have been the first buildings visitors would have seen. This is why they are being discussed first. Their function was to keep and maintain horses. The first matter of consideration regarding these buildings is to

[1030] William Aitken refers to it as the 'big dining room.' See William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptou wroght by me William Aitken Smith 13 December 1707,' building account, 13 December 1707, NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT.

determine when they were built. As Alistair Rowan has noted, 'there is no mention either in the contract or in the list of extras of the convex quadrant colonnades, nor the deep range of stable buildings that form such an impressive introduction to the main front in the published design.'[1031] However, the reason why the stables were not mentioned in the 1698 building contract for the main house is quite simple: every building constructed or renovated for Hopetoun House had its own contract. As the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters discussed, the extension made to Abercorn Kirk in 1707, the construction of the gardener's house in 1711, and of the oxen byre in 1714 were all initiated by individual building contracts. Since the stables were technically separate from the main house, they most likely had their own building contract. Unfortunately, like so many others, this document either does not survive or is buried somewhere in Hopetoun's archives. However, the presence of the stables in the first years of the eighteenth century have been recorded extensively in Hopetoun's building accounts.

According to James Macaulay, Alexander Eizat was already carrying out carprentry projects at the stables by August, 1699.[1032] In other words, the mason-work for the stables had reached such a state of completion by 1699 that Eizat could begin furnishing the building. Hopetoun's main house and stables were therefore built simultaneously. Tobias Bachope ultimately charged the First Earl £1,841.13s.8d Scots in 1704 for all the work collectively carried out at the stables and doghouse over the previous few years.[1033] The glazier, David Burton (among other, minor projects) mended a window, soldered 32 new latchets, and installed new lozenge windows at the

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1031 Rowan, p. 185.

1032 Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 5. Although the author of this thesis searched for the document Macaulay referenced (cited as 'Acct. of wright work at Hoptoun Beginning 1st of August 1699 by Alexr. Ezatt.' Bundle 3463, Hopetoun MSS' by Macaulay), it could not be found.

1033 Tobias Bachope, 'Doubell of the acomptts'; Tobias Bachope, 'Ane not of the particular Acompts and soums of finish work as they Extend in money wrought to the Earell of Hoptoun by Tobias Bachope in the Hour severall yeirs aygon as ffolloues,' building account, date unknown (circa 1705), NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

stables in 1706.[1034] The vast majority of further projects carried out at the stables between 1707 and 1719 consisted of minor maintenance- or repair-work.

Like the main house, it seems clear that stables were constructed between 1699 and 1706 with maintenance beginning as early as 1704. Stables and main houses were traditionally built at the same time, which highlights the importance placed on stables.[1035] That Hopetoun's stables were part of the inner courtyard also indicates that they were key to the exterior design of Hopetoun. As an aside, stables could be built at a distance from the main house, which underscores that the personal influence of owners greatly affected the individual designs of country houses. Furthermore, they showed Lord Hopetoun's wealth and interest in aristocratic sports. The stables were also accompanied by the coach-houses, stable loft, footmen's room, and the gentleman-of-the-horse's room. Since these ancillary spaces supported the care of the horses and maintenance of the stables, they merit discussion.

The earliest mention of the coach house comes from 1703. It does not relate to any significant construction work. Instead, it comes from one of William Aitken's accounts stating that he crafted some nails for the coach house and some staples for the coach house-door.[1036] The only mention of any form of construction work in the coach house is when David Burton recorded that he installed lozenge windows in 1706.[1037] It is otherwise clear that the coach houses were completed before 1703. The next significant ancillary structure is the stable loft, whose earliest mention is from 1707 when William Aitken mended its lock.[1038] In other words, the stable loft was

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1034 Unknown writer [David Burton?], 'Ane Acompt of new windows and windows mendet in Hoptoun House in October the 9 1706,' 9 October, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT; Burton, 'Accompt The Earle of Hoptoun to David Burton Glasier in Edr.'

1035 Lambton, p. 24.

1036 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703.'

1037 David Burton, 'Accompt The Earle of Hoptoun to David Burton Glasier in Edr.'

1038 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptou wroght by me William Aitken Smith 13 December 1707.'

also certainly completed before 1707, if not before 1703. Based on contextual evidence, Hopetoun's stable loft could have acted as a hay loft, a granary, or even as accommodation for servants.[1039]

However, Hopetoun had a separate hay loft and a separate girnel (granary). Hopetoun's stables also contained corn chests, which stored grain to be fed to the horses and were a common feature for stables in this period.[1040] Since the building accounts are not more specific or detailed, it is likely that Hopetoun's stable loft was used as either extra storage space for the horses' food, as accommodation for the grooms, or as a combination of the two. While the lower status servants may have slept in the stable loft, the footmen had their own living quarters. Although footmen were employed by the gentleman-of-the-horse (or the master-of-the-horse in the royal court), their roles in the household had begun to transform by the mid-seventeenth century.[1041] In the Middle Ages, footmen were chiefly attendants who ran beside their master or mistress on journeys, who in turn were either on horseback or in a carriage.[1042] While they symbolised their masters' prestige, they also cared for lame horses or acted as couriers.[1043] However, by the turn of the eighteenth century, they had begun to assume their modern role of serving the family and guests at meal-times.[1044] Nonetheless, footmen's positions likely still retained their equine roots (and perhaps duties) and were still in the charge of the gentleman-of-the-horse. There are two recorded

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1039 Brunskill, p. 74.

1040 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by William Aitken Smith.' Also see: Roger North, 'Roger North's Treatise on Building,' from Howard Colvin and John Newman, eds., *On Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 96.

1041 R.O. Bucholz, ed., 'The stables: Master of the Horse 1660-1837,' in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (Revised), Court Officers, 1660-1837* (London, 2006), pp. 603-4, *British History Online*, https://www-british-history-ac-uk.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp603-604 (accessed 22 February, 2018); R.O. Bucholz, ed., 'The stables: Footmen c. 1669-1837', in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (Revised), Court Officers, 1660-1837* (London, 2006), pp. 638-645, *British History Online,* https://www-british-history-ac-uk.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp638-645 (accessed 22 February, 2018).

1042 Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 140.

1043 *Ibid.*

1044 Girouard, p. 141.

instances of the presence of a room for the footmen at Hopetoun. In 1704, William Aitken crafted a new key for the footmen's room's lock and in 1708, David Burton installed a pair of casement windows set in lead.[1045] A key takeaway is that the footmen's room was completed before 1704 and needed some periodic repairs thereafter. They were not the only equine servants to be given their own accommodation.

It is also certain that the highest-ranking of them, the gentleman-of-the-horse, was housed privately since Hopetoun's building accounts state that he had his own room. The post of Hopetoun's gentleman-of-the-horse (William Bradful) was most likely equivalent to the master-of-the-horse, who was 'esteem'd the third great Officer at [the royal] Court, giving Precedence only to the Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household.'[1046] A master-of-the-horse's responsibilities included 'ordering and disposing of all Matters relating to the King's Stables, Races, Breed of Horses' and 'the Power of commanding the Equerries, and all other Officers and Tradesmen employ'd.'[1047] Furthermore, 'He has the Charge of the Revenues appointed for the Service and Maintenance of the King's Horses, for the Expence of the Stables, for Coaches, Litters, Sumpter Horses, &c.'[1048] Bradful most likely had many of the same responsibilities at Hopetoun.

While the footmen served the stables and the family directly, the gentleman-of-the-horse was in charge of all of the goings-on in the stables (from day-to-day care to breeding); it is no wonder, therefore, why he had his own room. Its presence is documented thrice in Hopetoun's building accounts. David Burton installed three square lozenge windows there in 1708

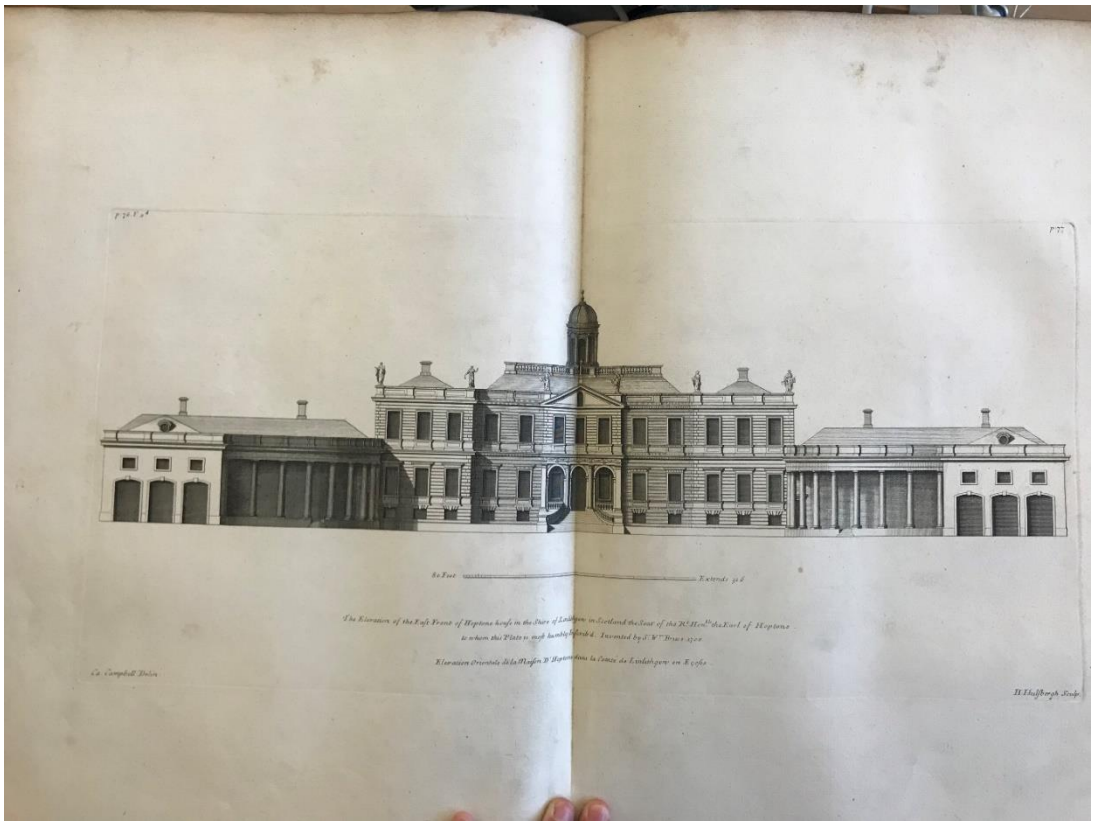
1045 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron and bras work to the right honnorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken Smith begun Octo 1704'; David Burton, 'Acompt the Eairll of Hopton to David Burton 24 Janry 1708,' building account, 24 January, 1708, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT.

1046 Bucholz, ed., 'The stables: Master of the Horse 1660-1837.'

1047 *Ibid.*

1048 *Ibid.*

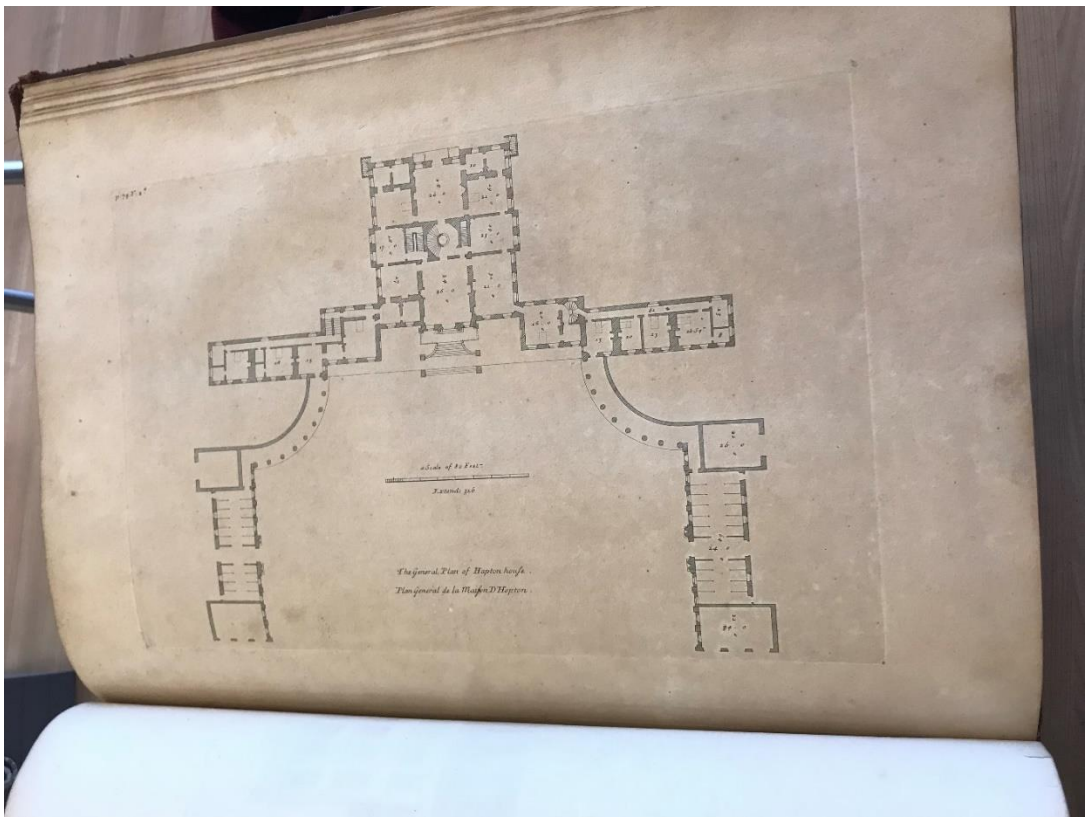
and William Aitken crafted a new key for the room in 1710.[1049] William Aitken also mended the room's 'oven for a chimna' in 1711.[1050] As with the footmen's room, the gentleman-of-the-horse's room was finished well before 1708 but experienced some repair-work between 1708 and 1711. It is possible to gauge an approximate location of the coach house, stable loft, footmen's room, and gentleman-of-the-horse's room through a visual analysis of the *Vitruvius Britannicus* images (*Figures 10.1* and *10.2*). This exercise can also tell modern readers more about the stables themselves.



(*Figure 10.1,* William Bruce, Hopetoun House Entrance Façade, Plates 76 and 77 from *Vitruvius Britannicus,* originally published 1717, NLS, photograph taken by author)

1049 David Burton, 'Acompt the Eairll of Hopton to David Burton 24 Janry 1708'; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honorabel the Eral of Hoptoun at Hoptoun hous wroght by me William Aitken from the 21 of June 1710 to the last of Decem 1710.'

1050 William Aitken, 'Ane Acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptoun begun Jan 1711.'



(*Figure 10.2,* William Bruce, Hopetoun House Entrance Façade, Plates 76 and 77 from *Vitruvius Britannicus,* originally published 1717, NLS, photograph taken by author)

According to the floor plan, Hopetoun had two stables that extended eastwards from the convex colonnades, which framed the courtyard on the north and south sides. Both stables were large and each was fitted with sixteen stalls and eight windows. The courtyard entrances into the north and south stables were framed by double columns. Each bay of the stables (except for the entrances) was also marked by a pilaster. That the sides of the stables facing the courtyard were treated with classical ornamentation means that the inner courtyard was framed by classical architecture on three of its four sides. This was a showy statement. Furthermore, the greater extravagance of the stables' façades masked the labour and messiness inside. Both of the stables' main entrances opened onto large passages, which in turn lead to comparatively unadorned exits. The simplicity of the outer doorways indicates that the areas opposite the courtyard sides of the stables—out of plain sight and more open—were devoted to the care of the horses and support of the stables. The stables divided the socio-political and

servants' spaces. However, the aforementioned passages served practical functions, as well.

Together, the passages and double entrances made up large spaces that allowed horses to be led into or out of both sides of the stables by grooms. Not only were the stables designed to care for the horses, they also accommodated their size and style of movement. Both stables also had three smaller entrances in the same, mirrored locations: the first were in the eastern-most corner opposite the courtyard; the second were in the western-most corner opposite the courtyard; the last led into short hallways that were connected to the colonnades. Their small sizes and inconspicuous locations imply that they were used by servants. Thus, the third element of the stables' design was that they allowed servants to move about freely and quietly perform their duties. Since horses required such a great deal of attention, it was necessary that servants be given such freedom of access.

The aforementioned ancillary spaces were essential to the support of the stables and servants. The small open rooms directly to the west of the stables (built against the colonnades) could only be accessed from the aforementioned stable areas opposite the courtyards. Their orientation and design indicate that their purpose was devoted to labour; they were not areas of display. That their entrances were also large suggests that they were used as storage spaces for carts and other equipment relating to the horses (such as bridles and saddles). Without further documentation, the exact function of those rooms remains ambiguous. However, the function of the three-bay rooms at the eastern ends of the stables is much clearer: these rooms were Hopetoun's coach-houses.

That the coach-houses had well-lit second storeys means that they were possibly the locations of the gentleman-of-the-stable's room (and the footman's room if they still serviced the stables). While the amount of space (714 square feet) provided by the second storey of the coach-house would have allowed multiple footmen to live comfortably, it also would have befitted

the high household status of the gentleman-of-the-horse. It is also logical that the grooms would be located close to the horses rather than in the main house or elsewhere. In short, the four ancillary and storage spaces were designed very neatly around the stables in order to provide the horses with as much care and attention as possible. Although a great deal of care was clearly given to the design and construction of Hopetoun's stables, this was very typical. Horses were integral to aristocratic country life during this period in Scotland.

According to R.W. Brunskill, 'the horse was the prince of animals' at the turn of the eighteenth century. It was not the favoured animal for draught- and farm-work (in Britain, at least) until later in the eighteenth century.[1051] However, it should be noted that the presence of workhorses is recorded at Hopetoun House as early as the summer of 1704, when Lord Hopetoun spent twelve shillings for new shoes for a workhorse.[1052] Hopetoun House, it should be remembered, was among the first wave of Scottish estates trying to improve in the early eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the horse was still most commonly used for sport (and transportation) in this period. Horses were not just expensive to buy and maintain, they were also temperamental and prone to ill-health and injury.[1053] Their care became all the more important so they could be fit for use.

As the seventh chapter discussed exhaustively, the sport of choice for post-Restoration aristocrats was hunting. This activity held princely associations across Europe from at least the Middle Ages and was therefore essential to an aristocratic lifestyle for a Scottish nobleman. According to Keith M. Brown, 'hunting encouraged good horsemanship and the horse was a potent symbol of royal and noble authority, riding being praised as a noble art by antiquity, and the mastery of the horse being a visual demonstration of

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1051 Brunskill, p. 73.

1052 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work wroght to the right Honorabel the Erale of Hoptoun for Hoptoun hous wroght be me William Aitken Smith,' building account, 1704, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

1053 Brunskill, pp. 108-9.

rulership.'[1054] Indeed, 'hunting was more than a sport, being a means of defining nobility, its complex rituals reinforcing hierarchy' and 'was also an essential part of young noblemen's education and was central to their socialisation.'[1055] Richard Blome summed up the significance of hunting and horsemanship to an aristocrat in 1686, stating: 'there is certainly no Exercise more Noble and Manly than this of the *Manege*; It makes a man firm and easie on Horseback, and vigorous and adroit in Action: It increaseth health and strength.'[1056] Hunting and horsemanship were ideologically inseparable. Even if the First Earl of Hopetoun did not truly have an interest in horses and equestrian sports, it was at least an unspoken requirement for him to feign interest in order to be considered a proper nobleman. It should be noted that the intricate notes detailing the outcomes of horseraces from 1705-10 that do survive in Hopetoun's archives suggest that the First Earl did, in fact, have a keen interest in equine sports.[1057] Horses and their stables were essential to Hopetoun House's identity as a country seat.

Designing stables clearly posed two distinct yet inseparable challenges: architects had to ensure that stable designs showcased the patron's wealth and simultaneously take the many needs of horses into account. Roger North warned against designing stables 'drawn by pride' because 'this looks great, but the master's ostentation is not for the horses' health.'[1058] Due to the animals' temperamental natures and connotations with high status, 'in most of Britain a stable was considered necessary for the comfort, health, safety and security of the horses.'[1059] Stables had to be designed for practicality, as well as for aesthetics. It was recommended that stables be arranged around the courtyard, which was the central area of display outside of the main house (although this did not always happen).[1060] Liger also notes that '*la*

1054 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 214.
1055 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* p. 213.
1056 Blome, p. 4.
1057 Unknown Writer [the First Earl of Hopetoun?], 'Horseracing Accounts,' circa 1705-1710, horseracing accounts, NRAS/888 Bundle 634, HHPT.
1058 North, from Colvin and Newman, eds., p. 95.
1059 Lambton, p. 25.
1060 McKean, 'Galleries,' pp. 22, 24.

Basse-Cour est la menagerie de la maison de campagne; les piéces en doivent être construites selon la qualité des revenus de cette maison [the Base Court is the centre for working animals at the country house; the structures there must be constructed according to the quality of the house's revenues].'[1061] As such, *'pour le Plaisir du maître & pour son labourage, il faut des écuries, des hangards & des remises pour les équipages & les outils du labourage, & pour les chaises & carosses* [for the Pleasure of the master and for ploughing, it is necessary that stables, sheds and the return of the crew and ploughing tools, chaises and carriages]' be situated around the courtyard.[1062] In other words, Liger recommends grouping the stables with the other animal-buildings.

However, the elite would have had the ability to separate their horses used for transportation and sport from their workhorses.[1063] Indeed, 'customarily, the outer court of larger establishments (base court in England) comprised the lower status and estate activities—business-like stables, yards, girnels (granaries), byres, and hen houses.'[1064] Indeed, social mixing was also one of Liger's concerns:

> *'Je serois encore d'avis que les écuries, tant du maître que du fermier, fussent situés contre le mur de separation de la cour du maître & de la basse-cour, tant pour la commodité du maître, qui prend & laisse ses chevaux sans entrer dans la basse-cour, que parce qu'il est important de ne pas faire de hauts bâtimens dans cet endroit* [I would again be of the opinion that stables, whether for the master or for the farmer, are better situated against the wall that separates the principal courtyard and the base-court, all for the convenience of the master, who can take and leave his horses without entering into the base-court, because it is important not to build important buildings in this area].'[1065]

Even if a landowner could only afford one set of stables, he could still socially stratify his exterior courtyard spaces through this simple method. Greater wealth meant greater degrees of architectural stratification: he could build more stables and separate the horses by their particular function. This

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1061 Liger, p. 10.
1062 Liger, p. 11.
1063 Brunskill, p. 73.
1064 McKean, 'Galleries,' p. 26.
1065 Liger, pp. 11-2.

method also still kept the stables at the heart of the main-house activities. Liger's recommendation of placing the stables centrally accomplished several goals: it showcased the owner's wealth to visitors (particularly if the courtyard stables were reserved for elite activities); it provided easy access to the horses for riders or travellers; and it also facilitated their care by keeping the horses, grooms, and the main house within easy access of each other. This was not just an architectural theory, but was actually implemented in country houses across Britain.

The architectural design of a stable, in addition to its siting, was another delicate and complex matter because 'in most of Britain a stable was considered necessary for the comfort, health, safety and security of the horses.'[1066] Key features within these buildings were consequently tall ceilings, good ventilation, spacious stalls, and loose boxes.[1067] The first two helped keep stables spacious, dry, and well-lit; dampness was deemed harmful to a horse's delicate constitution.[1068] Liger also advises that stables should not be kept too hot or too cold for the same reason.[1069] Stalls were ideally designed to allow horses to stand or lie down and hold the necessary amount of food.[1070] While the earliest stables in Scotland did not have stalls, it was a common practice to keep two horses who worked together in one stall by 1770.[1071] However, North promoted a cross between an open hall and stall system as early as the 1670s:

'A pendulous barr between [horses], is better than stalls boarded up, for the horses doe not love to be recluse, but hanker after the enjoyment of their company, which is by the eye, and so they have a pleasing converse. But a post and partition at the manger is good, because it prevents snapping, and unequall feeding.'[1072]

1066 Brunskill, p. 73.
1067 *Ibid.*
1068 Brunskill, p. 74.
1069 Liger, p. 12.
1070 Brunskill, p. 74; Liger, p. 12.
1071 Brunskill, p.74. Hopetoun's stalls do not seem big enough to accommodate more than one horse, though.
1072 North, from Colvin and Newman, eds., p. 96.

Equine care in this period tried to balance a horse's need for socialising with a need to control improper—and potentially violent—behaviour.

Hopetoun's stables of course contained stalls. Large, strong doors aided in the animals' security.[1073] As mentioned above, it was also common to keep lofts above the stables for the storage of food (hay or oats).[1074] As mentioned above, Hopetoun's stables contained a loft, which was very likely used for this purpose. Finally, Liger recommends designing the stables to be large enough to accommodate beds for the grooms, which are recorded to have been kept in Hopetoun's stables.[1075] It is impossible to know whether these beds were kept in the stable loft or the stables proper without further documentation. Nevertheless, the design and layout of Hopetoun's stables adhered to contemporary philosophy for equine care.

In designing stables, the primary concern was to create the best space possible for the care of horses. At the same time, however, horses were still an estate's most important and valuable animals. While they were status statements in and of themselves, they were also essential to prestigious sports like hunting. As such, stables were built to impress. According to Roger North, stables were 'ordinarily so well contrived because the men of best geniuses and estates delight in horses, and to be provident for them that the less is to be observed.'[1076] Indeed, 'sport,' rather than agriculture, 'produced the grandest architecture of all.'[1077] Stables in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were palatial affairs that were built to accompany country houses.[1078] Indeed, 'it was therefore not surprising that stables became far more than farm buildings and were given the architectural attention due to a building second only in status to the house itself.'[1079] The

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1073 Brunskill, pp. 73-4.
1074 Brunskill, pp. 74, 87, 91; Liger, p. 12; North, from Colvin and Newman, eds., p. 95-6.
1075 Liger, p. 12; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703.'
1076 North, from Colvin and Newman, eds., p. 95.
1077 Worsley, p. 72; Lambton, p. 20.
1078 Lambton, p. 24.
1079 Lambton, p. 25.

stables at Bruce's Hopetoun were no different. Even without surviving images, it is clear that Hopetoun's stables were also designed to impress. Although part of the service areas of the main house, the stables were also clearly an important part of the inner courtyard.

b. The Inner Courtyard

A building account written by Tobias Bachope records the construction of walls bordering the inner and outer courts of Hopetoun, which, including the stables, would have been one's first encounter with the house on approaching the eastern façade.[1080] Office houses traditionally bordered these courtyards in Scottish country houses, though they became consistently less visible over the course of the seventeenth century.[1081] As such, the role played by the inner courtyard also depended on the wealth and social rank of the owner: while the inner courts of lower-status lairds were multi-purpose and functional spaces, those of nobles were conversely spaces of élite activities and social display.[1082] Bruce architecturally separated the Hopes and their guests from the servile sections of the household. It is consequently clear that the inner courtyard was part of the main house as an area of display. John Lowrey states that this formalised relationship of space had come to be expected of great country houses by the late seventeenth century and was encouraged by John Reid in *The Scots Gardener*.[1083]

1080 Tobias Bachope, 'Nober 30th, 1705.'

1081 McKean, 'Galleries,' pp. 19, 21-25.

1082 McKean, 'Galleries,' p. 25.

1083 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 159. According to Reid, 'there is also a Stayr coming down from the hall without to the parterre of grass and gravel, on whose corners ar [sic] two Pavilions opening without the line of the House and sets off in places of Iammes [jambs]; one of which may be a Store-house, and the other a Dove-house: the Stables, Baking and Brewing house ar on the opposite side, most conveniently placed, as hereafter I shall demonstrate.' Also, 'make all the Buildings and Plantings ly so about the House, as that the House may be the Centre; all the Walks, Trees and Hedges running to the House.' See John Reid, *The Scots gard'ner*, Edinburgh, 1683, pp. 1-2, from *Early English Books Online*, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12059758&FILE=../session/1536066942_24301&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR (accessed 15 January, 2018).

The terrace and convex colonnades were also part of the border of the inner courtyard. The third, eighth, and ninth chapters have already discussed the terrace, which was the platform that spanned across the east façade. This feature augmented the main house's grandeur and separated it from the courtyard both visually, physically, and spatially. The convex colonnades played a similar role as structures that established spatial stratification. From the perspective of design, the colonnades also served a very practical role in that they completely hid the office houses from view, framed the house, and linked it to the stables.[1084] The use of colonnades in this manner was common in Bruce's domestic designs: they 'were used by Bruce to provide a connection from the great house to buildings associated with the productivity of the estate and, in that sense, the quadrants were both functional but also symbolic of this important relationship.'[1085] As a part of the inner courtyard, the colonnades and the terrace helped divide the formal and servile spaces; the stables straddled both areas. Moreover, the terrace and colonnades helped introduce the main house as an elite space to visitors. Both the colonnades and terrace were thus helpful components of the inner courtyard.

Despite the obvious usefulness of the quadrants, they have proven for decades to be an enigma to modern scholars studying Hopetoun. In 1978, Colin McWilliam questioned whether the colonnades were ever even built in the first place before Adam's renovations.[1086] Rowan argued in 1984 that 'there is no mention either in the contract or in the list of extras of the convex quadrant colonnades.'[1087] He theorises later in his paper that a second building phase for Bruce's Hopetoun began in 1706 after an initial completion in 1702.[1088] However, 'Bachope's bill for 1706 makes no mention of the colonnaded quadrants.'[1089] In other words, although he believes that the

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1084 Rowan, p. 186.
1085 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 163.
1086 Colin McWilliam, *Lothian, Except Edinburgh* from Nikolaus Pevsner, editor-in-chief, and Colin McWilliam and Judy Nairn, co-editors, *The Buildings of Scotland* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1978), p. 253
1087 Rowan, p. 185. Also, see footnote 28 on page 201.
1088 Rowan, p. 187.
1089 *Ibid.*

colonnades were ultimately built based on John Macky's description of the house in 1723, he found it difficult to date this particular structure because he could not find any mention of them in any of the available documentation.[1090] James Macaulay agreed with Rowan in this sense in his 1987 description of Hopetoun, suggesting that 'the house was finished by 1703, leaving the attendant stables, other offices and colonnades to be completed.'[1091] He continued to hold this belief in his 2012 paper, stating that the colonnades were finished following the main house's completion in 1703. He goes on to say that 'it is evident that the proposals as set out in the 1698 contract were subject to considerable change both internally and externally.'[1092] In other words, it has been held for nearly forty years that the convex quadrants were either not built or that they were not part of Bruce's original design for Hopetoun House and were instead built later to add greater elegance and opulence to an austere classical country house. It is time to revisit this notion.

Rowan himself concludes that the quadrants were ultimately built based on John Macky's 1723 description of Hopetoun.[1093] Macky observes that 'the Court-Yard is Collonaded, and adorned with Statues and Vases; but since the Building the Two Wings, the Court is to be extended to the Breadth of them, and proportionably longer.'[1094] Furthermore, he states that 'my Lord is now adding Two Semicircular Wings, of Four Stories High to the Front, adorned with Pillars and Pilasters.'[1095] The image Macky paints is of Hopetoun's partially complete Adam façade. Not only had the Bruce-era pavilions most likely already been demolished to allow the main block to be extended by one bay on each side, the small quadrants imbedded in the façade itself were already in the process of being built. At the same time, the *colonnaded* courtyard had yet to be expanded to match the new breadth of the east façade. Macky thus makes it clear that there were colonnades that

1090 Rowan, 'The Building of Hopetoun House,' p. 188.
1091 James Macaulay, *The Classical Country House in Scotland: 1660-1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 21.
1092 James Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 10.
1093 Rowan, p. 188.
1094 Macky, pp. 205-6.
1095 Macky, p. 205.

pre-existed the start of Adam's renovations and his concave colonnades. The documentation, or lack thereof, can provide more information regarding this matter.

It is true that no explicit mention is made of them in the 1698 building contract or in the known Bruce-era building accounts (this author has combed through nearly 200 documents relating to Hopetoun's construction). However, this does not mean that they were never designed or built. One point of contention among the aforementioned scholars is that the colonnades were not mentioned by the 1698 building contract. However, the previous section already brought up the idea that individual buildings had their own building contracts. As with the stables, the colonnades could have been mentioned by another building contract or had one of its own. While there are also no references to the colonnades in any of the building accounts, there is another simple explanation for this. Plenty of receipts of discharge exist from 1699 and 1700 but no building accounts have been found from these two years. As the previous chapter pointed out, the first known account of mason work carried out at Hopetoun is from late in 1701. In other words, there is no known documentation recording the progress of Hopetoun's construction for nearly a three-year period between early 1699 and late 1701. And yet, it was during this mysterious time that the shell of the main house was constructed. The exact building process for the main structure of the main house or even the office houses is therefore unknown. The colonnades were likely built in this period.

This discussion has not completely re-solved the 40-year debate over the Brucian colonnades. It has not been able to pin-point an exact date of construction, even if Macky's passage makes it clear that they did exist. However, there is some comfort in knowing that the answer very likely lies in missing documentation. Until that is found, there is no choice but to conjecture that the colonnades were built between 1699 and 1707 (most likely between 1699 and 1701) alongside the rest of the house and estate. This discussion was also important in determining the colonnades' role as a

part of the inner courtyard. Since Bruce's colonnades were part of the original courtyard, they were part of the first portion of the house that any visitors would see. They were not simply a barrier between the offices and the formal main house: they were a symbolic frame for the house and the courtyard. As part of the inner courtyard, they introduced visitors of all social levels to the main house, which was the architectural embodiment of the Hopes' desired image. This introductory role continued into the first areas of the main house.

c. The Frontispiece, Entrance Hall, Main Staircase, and Salon

The second stage of this progression consisted of the frontispiece and entrance hall. The terminology that the building accounts used for these spaces varied. Although this chapter uses more generalised vocabulary, the documents' terms give some notion as to how these spaces functioned and how they were meant to be interpreted. For example, according to Macky, 'You enter [Hopetoun] from a Vestibule, supported with Pillars, into a large Hall.'[1096] In addition, Warrander records varnishing the entrance hall, but called it 'Great Vestible.'[1097] At the same time, these accounts refer to the stair connecting the terrace to the frontispiece as (in varying forms) 'ye Stair to ye vestable.'[1098] It is likely that the frontispiece was considered to be part of the entrance hall as the formal introduction to the main house's interior. Furthermore, "vestibule" was a French term. It is important to discuss what an English/Scottish-style entrance hall and a French-style vestibule were. French 'vestibules could be richly decorated but they were never large; they were rooms to pass through, not linger in.'[1099] They essentially were basic, introductory spaces. Meanwhile, the hall in Scotland and England had originally been the principal living chamber found on the first floor of a castle or tower-house.[1100] That the hall was also originally the communal dining

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1096 See Macky passage on the first page.

1097 Thomas Warrander, 'Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work Done at Hoptone house, for The Right Honourable the Earle of Hoptone by Thomas Warrander painter in Edr,' building account, circa December, 1703, NRAS/888 Bundle 3,025, HHPT.

1098 Tobias Bachope, 'The Measure of Masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptouns house done be Tobias Bachope Masone Deser 5th 1705.'

1099 *Ibid.*

1100 *Ibid.*

room for owners, guests, and retainers underscores the effects that the formalisation and stratification of space had on post-Restoration classical country houses.[1101]

According to David Jones, an entrance hall became 'a ground-floor reception room entered either through an outer vestibule or directly through the front door.'[1102] The introduction of this type of room established spatial order in a country house and was the most public room of the formal procession.[1103] It was not a room in which to linger: family and certain guests would move elsewhere in the house while servants and lower status visitors stayed.[1104] This ultimately makes it much closer to the French-style vestibule in function than in to the early modern hall. Although such people as tenants could not use the formal entrance hall, low ranking visitors and those not intimate with the family would not have been able to progress past this room. This is how this room would have functioned at Hopetoun. Entrance halls also had to be properly decorated. As the previous chapter mentioned, Hopetoun's was elaborately painted by Thomas Warrander. This is another way in which Hopetoun's entrance hall shared similarities with the French-style vestibule. Although the formal plan had adapted to English and Scottish customs, its roots were French. There is a key difference between the French vestibule and the English/Scottish entrance hall. The vestibule was an introduction to the house like the Scottish and English entrance hall, but on a small scale. Based on the large size of Hopetoun's entrance hall, it followed the Scottish custom but builders referred to it using French terminology.

Vestibules also always preceded a *salon*, which functioned as a grand yet general reception room to guests and visitors; they were placed on either the principal or second storeys.[1105] Visitors' receptions were stratified into

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1101 David Jones, '5: The Hall and Lobby,' Annette Carruthers, ed., *The Scottish Home* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing, 1996), p. 106.
1102 Jones, '5: The Hall and Lobby,' Carruthers, ed., p. 105.
1103 *Ibid.*
1104 Girouard, p. 128. It should be noted that the lowest-ranking visitors entered via the laigh hall, which will be explored in the next chapter.
1105 *Ibid.*

multiple stages in the French formal plan. Thus, while the hall served as the general reception room for visitors, the *salon* acted as the next stage in a country house's procession. Both were formal and socially significant spaces, but also did not imply intimacy with the family. One's rank and/or intimacy with the family were determined by how far into the processional route past the *salon* one was permitted to go. The combination of vestibule-and-*salon* had another very particular function in French domestic architecture in that it flashily presented the owners to visitors: visitors had to go through two checkpoints before they could even think about seeing the rest of the house. While this combination existed in Britain (in both England and Scotland) and was meant as another space of display, it had taken on a slightly different function. In Britain, *salons* (Anglicised to "saloon") became the new term for what was previously referred to as the great or high dining rooms.[1106] However, *salons* (which were still referred to as the great or high dining room at the turn of the eighteenth century in Scotland) retained their traditional function as grand, ceremonial dining rooms.[1107] Indeed, the *salon* was used as a 'showpiece' that 'was reserved for large-scale formal entertainment rather than day-to-day use.'[1108]

Returning to Hopetoun, the main house contained a frontispiece and entrance hall, both of which were referred to by the building accounts as the vestibule. Based on the context described above, the frontispiece and entrance hall were combined introductory spaces. The family and high-ranking visitors would remove themselves from there to the *salon*. Colen Campbell states in his description of Hopetoun House in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (quoted at the beginning of this chapter) that a *salon* stood directly above the entrance hall on the second storey (*Figure 10.3*).[1109] Meanwhile, William Aitken recorded that he fixed a brass lock in the 'big dining room' in 1707,

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1106 Girouard, pp. 129, 135; Juliet Kinchin '7: The Drawing Room,' Carruthers, ed., p. 156.

1107 Girouard, p. 88.

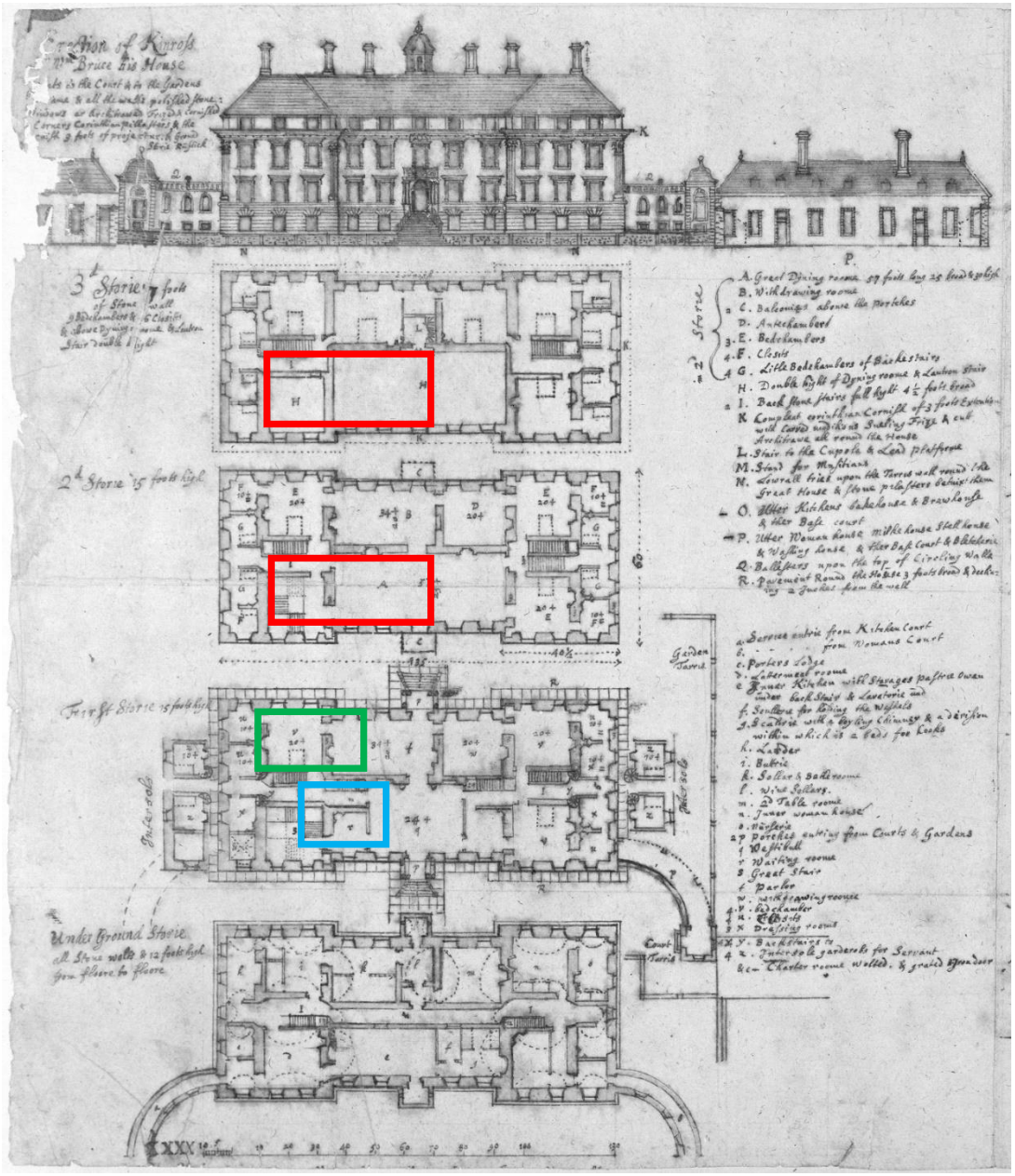
1108 Kinchin, '7: The Drawing Room,' Carruthers, ed, p. 156.

1109 Campbell, p. 4. It should be noted that because the original vestibule ceiling was heightened under Adam, the *salon* no longer exists.

which likely refers to what Campbell calls the *salon.*[1110] Based on this evidence, Hopetoun's *salon* occupied the room above the entrance hall between at least 1705 and 1717 when Campbell's description was published. That the introductory part of the procession took place across two storeys of the house is an arrangement that borrowed from Kinross (*Figure 10.4*). This would have been a theatrical introduction to Hopetoun's procession. That the *salon* was on the second floor also meant that Hopetoun's main staircase could not be a plain and simple space: it had to wow its visitors.

(*Figure 10.3,* Alexander Eizat, Entrance to the old *salon* above the entrance hall from the main staircase, William Bruce, Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, UK, circa 1699-1707, photograph taken by author)

[1110] William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptou wroght by me William Aitken Smith 13 December 1707.'



(*Figure 10.4,* Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, Draught of the Kinross House Floor plans, circa 1700, from *Canmore,* ID Number SC 1034209. Great dining room is circled in red (and was two-storey). Entrance hall circled in blue. The large room beyond the entrance hall, circled in green, was the parlour. The entrance hall and parlour were surrounded by four apartments, including Bruce's, one the first floor. The great dining room was surrounded by the state apartment on the second floor)

Both Macky and Campbell comment on the staircase in their descriptions of Hopetoun. Macky states that 'the Stair-Case is in the Middle, between the Hall and Salloon [sic], and is finely adorned with the History of the Heathen Gods, done at Antwerp, and put into panels from top to Bottom.' The main staircase was clearly lavishly decorated. Meanwhile, Campbell

merely notes that the staircase is octagonal.[1111] Documentary evidence also illustrates its extravagance. Not only did Alexander Eizat incorporate extravagant floral carvings throughout the entire room, Warrander also painted this work decoratively (*Figures 10.5* and *10.6*). The carvings 'of the Cupilla' were gilded 'wt true Inglish Gold,' while 'all the timber & lead work' of the rest of the staircase were painted 'thre [sic] times over wt a stone colours in oyll & paint[ed] the 8 arches in imitation of Glass.'[1112] Though the bare oak of the staircase as it can be seen today is sumptuous in and of itself, the gilded carving surrounded by simulated stonework would have been a lavish spectacle. The dome supporting the original lantern (which is now decorated with a Baroque mural) was also originally painted to resemble glass; it was intended as an extension of the sky above.

With the light shining through the cupola and the gilded vegetation sparkling inside a sort of *trompe l'oeil* courtyard, the ambiance given off by the main stair must have been like an otherworldly garden. A courtyard in southern Europe (Italy, in particular), necessitated by a hotter climate, functioned as the centre of domestic activity. As a key link between Hopetoun's busy introductory spaces, its main staircase was a northern version of that type of central courtyard. Hopetoun's main staircase also recalled Italy in terms of its ornamentation. Although the main staircase's ornamentation was carried out by highly-skilled Scottish craftsmen, *trompe l'oeil* itself was extremely popular in Italy during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The ornamentation of the main staircase cements the space's roots in Italian architecture.[1113] This spectacle showcased the Hopes' wealth and cosmopolitanism. However, there was a secondary decorative scheme therein that was meant to demonstrate the family's erudition and morality.

1111 See passages on first page.
1112 *Ibid.*
1113 See Chapter II of this dissertation.

(*Figure 10.5,* Alexander Eizat, Second Storey of the Main Staircase, in William Bruce, Hopetoun House, circa 1699-1706, South Queensferry, UK, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 10.6*, Alexander Eizat, Detail of Decorative Carving in Main Staircase, in William Bruce, Hopetoun House, circa 1699-1706, South Queensferry, UK, photograph taken by author)

According to Macky, the panels of the main staircase were originally filled with paintings pertaining to the 'History of the Heathen Gods, done at Antwerp.'[1114] These undoubtedly constituted a portion of the thirty-seven Tideman paintings imported to Hopetoun between 1703 and 1704 briefly discussed in the previous chapter. Although 'Ninteen [sic] oyl Pictures all pannell'd' remained in the main staircase according to a 1768 inventory, it

1114 Macky, p. 205.

cannot be determined with certainty whether these were still the Tideman paintings.[1115] Basil Skinner states that the following paintings were installed in the main stair: Mars and Venus, Diana and Actæon, Ulysses and the Sirens, Perseus and Andromeda, Hercules and Omphale, Cephalus and Aurora, Mercury and Calypso, and Ganymede.[1116]

Although there are nineteen panels in the main staircase, Skinner only accounts for eight of the paintings that were known to have been there. Tideman's list does not state which paintings were in the main staircase. The three paintings for which Skinner could not find a location (Pomona and Vertumnus, Narcissus, and Bacchus Comforts Ariadne) may have originally belonged to the main staircase.[1117] It is also possible that not all of the main staircase's panels were filled; perhaps there were only eight paintings. It is also possible that the Tideman paintings were moved around in the nearly three centuries between their installation and the publication of Skinner's article. Although Macky makes it clear that Tideman's paintings did occupy the main staircase, there could have been a different assortment of them. In any case, it is clearly difficult to pinpoint the exact collection that was originally in the main staircase without further documentation or scholarship (again, Skinner is the only known source on this subject). The aforementioned paintings can nevertheless still tell modern readers something about Hopetoun House and the Hopes as patrons, if not about the staircase itself. As with the house as a whole, the paintings' classical subject matter was meant to showcase four chief qualities of Hopetoun's patrons (both Lady Margaret and Lord Hopetoun): their education, cultural sophistication, wealth, and morality.

One of the major motifs of these paintings—particularly of Mars and Venus, Ulysses and the Sirens, Hercules and Omphale, Cephalus and

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1115 Unknown Writer, 'General Inventary of Furniture, November 1768 Revised November 1780,' inventory of furnishings, November 1768, revised November 1780, NRAS/888 Bundle 607, HHPT.

1116 Skinner, p. 373. See Appendix I for more information regarding these paintings.

1117 See Appendix I.

Aurora, Mercury and Calypso, and Ganymede—is lust.[1118] This included succumbing to and resisting lust and the consequences of such choices (Mars and Venus faced a particularly embarrassing punishment for their transgression). In the eyes of a post-Restoration Scot, these paintings would generally read as the immorality of lust. While the story of Cephalus and Aurora also falls into this category, another one of its themes that stands out is envy: it is this that led to Procris's death at the hand of her husband, Cephalus.[1119] Envy is a form of greed, which is also forbidden by the ten commandments. The last painting, Diana and Actæon, symbolises the negative effects of boasting, or vainglory. In short, these paintings encapsulate three of the seven deadly sins. The choice behind these cautionary tales was therefore rooted in classical and Biblical morality. However, many of these paintings did not represent every deadly sin per se, but rather how certain sins affected love (and lust).

The painting of Narcissus, of course, illustrated how pride destroyed his ability to love, which led to his utter despair (pride and despair are two other deadly sins).[1120] This scene symbolises how self-obsession and love of other people are incompatible characteristics. While Vertumnus and Ariadne represented marriage sought through illicit means, Bacchus and Ariadne represented marriage borne out of love.[1121] The former represented lust and greed and the latter devotion and faith. These paintings were meant to showcase the Hopes' moral upstanding and values. Furthermore, that they came from such a broad array of classical sources (Homer's *Odyssey,* Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* and Ovid's *Fasti*) was meant to demonstrate the Hopes' knowledge of classical literature. In commissioning Tideman's paintings, the Hopes and Hopetoun would have appeared culturally sophisticated, cosmopolitan, and educated, in addition to prudent and principled. These paintings were very important to their image. In fact, the entirety of the main

1118 See Appendix I.
1119 See Appendix I.
1120 See Appendix I.
1121 See Appendix I.

staircase was a showcase of the Hopes as patrons: it combines the finest of Lowland craftsmanship with the cultural influences of the Continent and classical learning.[1122] That a cupola crowns the main staircase added to this. From an art historical standpoint, this was and is an extremely important room within the context of early eighteenth-century Scottish architecture. The extravagance of this stair runs counter to what Rowan states about it, which is that it 'was reduced from the arcaded design in stone described in the contract to a more modest timber stair.'[1123] There are several points with which to take issue here.

First of all, the clause to which Rowan refers in the 1698 contract directed Tobias Bachope to 'make the great Stair in the body of the main house with Pletts and Pillars arched above in the Rooffe therof.'[1124] In other words, this item states that the main staircase was to be crowned by a double-shell cupola. It does not state that the whole of the staircase was to be constructed in stone. Furthermore, the notion that the staircase was built in timber rather than stone does not mean that the Hopes were cheap in any way—especially since oak was an imported commodity in Scotland. The choice of oak simply made constructing and decorating the main stair a more flexible project. It allowed the main staircase to be the extravagant room that it became. Not only was Eizat able to carry out his lavish carving work, it made it much easier to install Tideman's canvases in the panels. The main staircase clearly held a very complex role in Bruce's design, both spatially and visually. Although its basic function was to connect the first and second storeys, it was directly part of the procession from the entrance hall to the *salon.* Assuming it was the same size as the entrance hall below and based on the Bruce-period extravagance of the main staircase, the *salon* must have been an impressive space. These were all the introductory spaces of Bruce's Hopetoun: they presented the Hope family to visitors. Those of high enough

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1122 Not only were the paintings imported from Holland, but the notion of the grand staircase was of French origin.

1123 Rowan, p. 187.

1124 Hopetoun Building Contract, line 67-8.

rank or status could have proceeded beyond the *salon* into the apartments. The most socially significant was the state apartment.

II. The State Apartment in Bruce's Hopetoun House

The inclusion of this highly prestigious set of rooms was a common trend for contemporary Scottish country houses of prestige, whereas 'the state apartment was confined only to the very grandest houses like Chatsworth, Althorp or Boughton' in post-Restoration England.[1125] The presence of the state apartment in Scottish country houses symbolised both an anticipation of a royal visit that had existed in Scotland since James VI left Edinburgh for London in 1603, as well as the political independence this royal removal gave to the Scottish nobility.[1126] Leadhills not only made the Hopes fabulously wealthy, it gave them socio-economic clout as well. Their socio-political prestige further increased after Charles Hope was made the First Earl of Hopetoun. Consequently, it makes sense that a wealthy and ambitious family would build a state apartment in their brand-new country house. The state apartment, was comprised of a prescribed succession of rooms. Although much grander, the same types of room would have been found in the family apartments, as well.

Traditionally, the formal apartments that followed the *salon* consisted of a dining room, a withdrawing room, an antechamber, a bedroom, and closets. The withdrawing room and antechamber had similar functions in this period (the former had not yet acquired its Austenian function). In France, an '*antechambre* was, as its name implies, essentially a waiting room for visitors hoping to get access to the *chambre.*'[1127] In England, withdrawing rooms generally evolved from traditional 'private sitting rooms' to become 'more like

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1125 Wemyss, *Noble Houses of Scotland,* p. 212.

1126 Aonghus MacKechnie, 'Birth-stool of Scottish Romanticism? Holyrood and Sir William Bruce, "Surveyor-General and Overseer of the King's Buildings in Scotland",' *Architectural Heritage* 23 (2012): pp. 145, 153-4, https://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=234d22b6-30b2-4d99-8c0c-d6d1736f98cd%40sessionmgr110&vid=2&hid=122; Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland,* pp. 203-205.

1127 Girouard, p. 128.

general reception rooms' like a French *antechambre* during Charles II's reign.[1128] This change makes sense because Charles II lived out the Interregnum period in the French court. Meanwhile, the withdrawing room in Scotland 'was usually upstairs on the first floor, and at first it was part of a suite of parade of rooms which led into each other: dining room, with-drawing room, bedchamber, and closet.'[1129] Indeed, the post-Restoration withdrawing room in Scotland 'played a supporting role to the glamorous lead act of the baroque dining room and state bed chamber.'[1130] In short, the post-Restoration withdrawing room in both England and Scotland had a very similar function to the French *antechamber*: it was a sort of waiting room (and more exclusive than the vestibule) between the dining room and bedchamber. However, both antechamber and withdrawing rooms could have also acted as sitting rooms. The bedchamber was the apex of the procession and required both high rank and intimacy to enter. Since the closets acted as the most private spaces for family and visitors, they were not as ostentatious as the rest of the house. Nonetheless, they required the highest degree of status and intimacy to enter due to its private function. This is likely the form that the state apartment took at Hopetoun. The question remains as to where exactly it was located.

a. Was the State Apartment on the Second Storey?

Regarding the layout of the second storey, Campbell states that the main staircase 'leads up to the second Story, and over the Hall is a noble Salon, and the same Number of Apartments as below.'[1131] In other words, the second storey originally mirrored the principal storey with two formal apartments lining either side of the central axis. Otherwise, there is no known floor plan of the second storey of Bruce's Hopetoun House, which consequently makes it very difficult to know how the areas surrounding the *salon,* main staircase, and balcony room were laid out. Because the

1128 Girouard, pp. 128-30.
1129 Annette Carruthers, '1: Studying the Scottish Home,' in Carruthers, ed., pp. 34-5.
1130 Kinchin, '7: The Drawing Room,' Carruthers, ed, p. 155.
1131 See passage on first page.

introductory *salon* was located on the second storey, it follows that the state apartment would have followed as it did at Kinross House (see *Figure 10.4*). Assuming that the layout of Hopetoun's second storey matched that of the first, this procession would have fit perfectly.[1132]

Tideman's account, which details a number of paintings destined for bedchambers and antechambers on the second storey, can provide some more information regarding this matter. First of all, the destination for six of the paintings was titled 'bed Chamb'r Second Stoory'; Tideman likely referenced multiple second-storey bedchambers.[1133] Furthermore, two paintings were intended for a second-storey antechamber and four more were to be placed in an antechamber (whose floor location is unspecified).[1134] Finally, there were two paintings that were destined for the 'East Closet' (potentially three. However, this cannot be confirmed without the document's missing page).[1135] It is likely that the second-storey apartments were for visitors rather than family. That these apartments included a bedchamber and an antechamber (as well as expensive decorative furnishings) suggests that they were for high-ranking guests who were intimate with the family. Thus, the state apartment could have been on the second floor. It is also possible, however, that the second storey consisted of four lesser apartments like the principal storey of Kinross House. Whatever the case, it is important to discuss the balcony room that was situated across the main staircase from the *salon* and in between two of the apartments.

As the previous chapter briefly discussed, the balcony room is believed to have been the room directly above the garden room on the second storey. It was meant to overlook the garden and gave access to the balcony; this room no longer exists and has since been broken up into two bedchambers (*Figure 10.7*). Although it is impossible to know the balcony room's exact

1132 John Lowrey pointed this out to the author.
1133 Tideman, 'Anno 1703 deer Ordre.' See Appendix I.
1134 *Ibid.*
1135 *Ibid.*

appearance, it was likely considered to be an extension of the outdoors as the main staircase was. The documentation does not give insight into the balcony room's exact function either. It appears to have become a lavish bedroom by the time the aforementioned inventory was compiled in 1768.[1136] The balcony room's most notable objects by that date were: an unspecified number of tapestries, a mahogany bedstead hung with embroidered purple velvet and yellow damask curtains, six mahogany elbow chairs, a mahogany looking glass, a walnut tea table, a mahogany chest of drawers, and two mahogany footstools.[1137]

1136 Unknown Writer, 'General Inventary of Furniture, November 1768 Revised November 1780.'
1137 *Ibid.*

(*Figure 10.7,* This hall is to the west of the main staircase; the rooms beyond the two doors would have originally been the balcony room. From William Bruce, Hopetoun House, circa 1699-1706, South Queensferry, UK)

Without any further documentation, it is impossible to know exactly when these objects were moved into the balcony room or even if it had always been a bedchamber. However, the location of the balcony room opposite the formal *salon* and the fact that it overlooked the garden (giving visitors a pretty view) indicates that it may have been originally designed as a parlour. In this period, a parlour was an informal sitting room, which would have provided the Hopes and intimate visitors with a more private social space.[1138] The informal privacy granted by a second-storey parlour would

[1138] Ian Gow, '6: The Dining Room,' in Carruthers, ed., p. 130.

have balanced the rigid decorum of a formal procession, which provides further evidence that the state apartment was situated on the second storey. Nonetheless, it is important to discuss the fact that it has long been held by scholars that the Bruce-period state apartment was located on the north side of the first storey as it was in the Adam house.

b. Was the State Apartment Located on the North Side of the Principal Storey?

Deborah Howard argues that the state apartment—which consisted 'of the grand ceremonial dining-room at the front, the withdrawing-room and bedchamber, and finally at the rear two closets'—ran along the north side of the *corps de logis.*[1139] There are a few clues to suggest this was the location. Eizat mentions working in a dining room on the north side of the house, separate from the "big dining room," as early as 1705.[1140] Furthermore, in a contract signed between William Adam and Lord Hopetoun in 1728, Adam agreed to extend 'the present north Dining Room' by twelve feet to the north.[1141] This suggests that a dining room was still present on the north side of the main house before Adam entered onto the scene. The room to the north of the entrance hall, although not as large as the second-storey *salon,* was large enough to accommodate a state dining room even before Adam's extension of it. The rest of the state apartment would have extended from the dining room towards the west end of the house

Howard argues that the rooms that followed the north dining room were the state withdrawing chamber, bedchamber, and closets. Using the *Vitruvius Britannicus* floor plan as a guide, this arrangement easily fit along the north side of the first storey. The northwest suite also consisted of a bedchamber and two closets, which would have been suitable for a higher-ranking nobleman (or theoretically the king himself). Meanwhile, the suite in the north

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1139 Howard, 'Sir William Bruce's Design for Hopetoun,' p. 60.

1140 Eizat, 'Acct of wright work at Hoptoun House from the 30th July to 22 Decr 1705 By Alexr Eizatt,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628.

1141 William Adam, 'Heads of an Agreement between the Earl of Hopetoun and William Adam Architect, Febry 7th, 1728,' building contract, 7 February, 1728, NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT.

pavilion could have been reserved for the higher-ranking nobleman's wife. Finally, it follows that a state withdrawing room or antechamber occupied the room in between the known dining room and the principal suite. Of course, this suite could have also simply been a secondary apartment that was not reserved as the state apartment. This is implied by the fact that it is on the first storey rather than the higher second storey. Frankly this is all circumstantial evidence. Until more documentation (ideally like Bruce-era inventories) is unconvered, the location of the state apartment really can only be conjecture. However, there is much more certainty regarding the arrangement of Lord and Lady Hopetoun's private apartments thanks to some subtle hints in the building accounts.

c. The Family Apartments

The first matter to take into consideration is what scholars have said regarding Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments. Alistair Rowan states that a dining room always occupied the large room in the northeast of the main block.[1142] He also uses Macky's 1723 description of the house to state that the sequence of dining room, withdrawing room, bedchamber, and closets ran on either side of the central axis by that point.[1143] Deborah Howard states that there were on the south side: 'the private dining room, preceded by two small service rooms at the front of the house, [which] led into a withdrawing room, followed by the Earl's private suite, consisting of bedchamber, closet and charter-room.'[1144] Both historians argue that Lord Hopetoun's apartment occupied the southern side of the main block. Neither discuss the location of Lady Hopetoun's apartment in the Bruce house. Meanwhile, Macaulay discusses both Lord and Lady Hopetoun's suites and leaves out any mention of the state apartment. He asserts that Lord Hopetoun's suite occupied the southwestern corner of the main block while Lady Hopetoun's occupied the northwestern corner; this was the traditional arrangement.[1145] Skinner also

1142 Rowan, p. 186.
1143 Rowan, p. 188.
1144 *Ibid.*
1145 Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House,' p. 4.

states that Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments spanned across two storeys.[1146] Macaulay's and Skinner's proposals disagree with what was put forth by Rowan and Howard. In short, Scholarship clearly has not agreed over the layout of Hopetoun's private apartment. Using the floor plan and building accounts from Hopetoun's archives, this section aims to clarify somewhat the internal arrangement of their apartments.

First of all, the southwestern corner of the main block was certainly Lord Hopetoun's apartment. That there is no doorway linking the closet and Garden Room indicates that this was a very private and secure room. As the earliest record of the presence of the charter room is from 1708, it is undoubted that this was the room's function.[1147] In other words, a charter room has been present in that location on the principal storey of the main block from the Bruce period through to the present day (although it is not currently used as a charter room and instead holds historical value). It subsequently holds that the charter room, which contained every private estate paper, would have been located within Lord Hopetoun's apartment. Thus, the southwestern corner of the main block was the original location of Lord Hopetoun's private apartment. This piece of information helps to deduce how the rest of the southern side of the main block was arranged.

To repeat an item cited in the previous chapter, the painter, Thomas Warrander, states that he painted 'the EARLES [sic] Bed Cham 116 ells & in the Ante char betwixt it & the Counteses Bed Cham.'[1148] This is a very important piece of information: Warrander tells the modern reader the exact layout of the principal private apartments as they stood in 1703. Since the three rooms in the southwest corner of the main house were certainly the original location for Lord Hopetoun's bedchamber and closets, it follows that the identical set of rooms in the southeast corner of the main house was Lady Hopetoun's suite of bedchamber and two closets. Both sets of rooms

1146 Skinner, pp. 368-73.
1147 David Burton, 'Acompt the Eairll of Hopton to David Burton 24 Janry 1708,' building account, 24 January 1708, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT.
1148 Warrander, 'Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work.'.

were subsequently divided in the centre of the south side by one room that could be accessed via the southern stair or Lord's and Lady's bedchambers. This originally would have been the antechamber. From a functional perspective, this arrangement was ideal: it would have provided servants convenient access to Lord and Lady Hopetoun's private apartments via the service stair. Furthermore, this layout fits perfectly in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* plan. This arrangement particularly makes sense since Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments were organised in the same way as their equivalents at Kinross House (see *Figure 10.4*).

Lord and Lady Hopetoun were put on an equal footing spatially. Meanwhile, the decorative schemes for both the Hopetoun apartments were suitably masculine and feminine in order to showcase their respective household roles to their household and intimate visitors. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the earl's apartment was more austere with varnished oak walls. Meanwhile, Warrander describes the original ornamentation for Lady Hopetoun's suite. Lady Hopetoun's bedchamber was fitted out with walnut-coloured panels that were to fit landscape paintings.[1149] These panels were given a black, japanned finish.[1150] Warrander also gilded and lacquered the dentils of the cornice in this bedchamber with copper.[1151] Lady Hopetoun's dressing room was also fitted with panels intended to hold landscape paintings, which were subsequently painted 'in tortyshell on ane Gold ground.'[1152] He also painted a walnut colour, giving the fireplaces a marble effect in the process.[1153] Once again, Hopetoun House was built and furnished with the best of local craftsmanship. Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments were also decorated with more of Tideman's paintings.

At least six of the 37 Tideman paintings are known to have been installed in Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments.[1154] Three of these

1149 Warrander, 'Accompt of the Painting.'
1150 *Ibid.*
1151 *Ibid.*
1152 *Ibid.*
1153 Warrander, 'Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work.'
1154 *Ibid.*

paintings were destined for Lord Hopetoun's bedchamber in 1703: one depicted Scipio and the Carthaginian Bride (Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal) as described by the 28th-30th books of Livy's *A History of Rome*; a second depicted an allegory of youth forsaking lust; the last depicted the musical duel between Apollo and Pan.[1155] Citing Livy and Ovid, they were intended to demonstrate Lord Hopetoun's education and erudition (real or otherwise). More importantly, the subject matter of these paintings was suitable for the bedchamber of a man who was simultaneously a wealthy, newly minted aristocrat and a newlywed groom. The first two, according to Basil Skinner, symbolised 'generosity and continence' and 'probity.'[1156] In other words, these paintings signified marital faith and the proper behaviour of a good husband. Skinner states that the third painting was meant to symbolise patronage of the arts.[1157] However, there is deeper substance to these paintings than those general themes.

Regarding the first painting, the character representing Lord Hopetoun indicates what message he hoped to convey to viewers. He could not have been Sophonisba due to the simple fact that he was not a woman. Nor could he have been King Syphax or Masinissa: the former was a traitor and both were slaves to their carnal passions. Instead, Lord Hopetoun hoped to embody the qualities of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus: a revered military tactician; a great leader of men; and the upholder of moral virtue and faith. In Lord Hopetoun's world, he strove to lead his family to prosperity and safeguard their virtue (particularly Lady Hopetoun's). The second painting, of course, symbolises Lord Hopetoun's understanding that he could not be a virtuous leader without being moral himself. Finally, the third painting warns of the negative consequences of pride. Although Lord Hopetoun had power and wealth, he subtly stated that he knew his place in the grand hierarchical scheme (both earthly and divine). While the first painting acted as his visual

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1155 Skinner, p. 370; Tideman, 'Anno 1703 deer Ordre,' NRAS/888 Bundle 635. See Appendix I.
1156 Skinner, p. 370.
1157 *Ibid*

role model (much as paintings of the Virgin did for early modern women), the latter two paintings were cautionary tales against abusing his power and influence. The ornamentation of Lady Hopetoun's apartment also had moral undertones.[1158]

Three more of Tideman's paintings were installed in Lady Hopetoun's bedchamber. Two symbolised marital faith: one depicted Penelope from *The Odyssey*, while the other depicted Lucretia's suicide.[1159] Meanwhile, the third painting signifies the importance of producing a male heir: it depicted Jupiter, disguised as Amphitryon, preparing to rape Alcmene.[1160] The product of this encounter was, of course, Hercules.[1161] The paintings chosen for Lady Hopetoun's room embodied the pillars of contemporary noble femininity. Still in their early twenties, it was hoped that Lady Hopetoun's steadfast faith and loyalty to Lord Hopetoun would produce a strong and virile male heir. The apartments' gendered decoration, in addition to their French-inspired orientation, were imperative in establishing Lord and Lady Hopetoun's image as *bona fide* nobles. In addition to the decoration of Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments, documentation and circumstantial evidence have also helped to dismantle their arrangement within the main house's floor plan as proposed by Rowan and Howard, as well as Macaulay and Skinner.

That Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments occupied the southeast and southwest corners of the main block has already been confirmed by Warrander's account. However, the main block's layout was not permanent. In fact, the building accounts have brought to light the notion that Lady Hopetoun's apartment was shuffled to a new location only a few years after her apartment was decorated. As early as 1706, it is noted that David Mather spent 'in ye first of Apryll A plastering ye closet in ye north end of the south office house.'[1162] A few years later in 1710, William Eizat installed

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1158 See Appendix I.
1159 Skinner, p. 370. See Appendix I.
1160 *Ibid.*
1161 See Appendix I.
1162 David Mather, 'Accomptt of days wrought to the Earll of Hoptoun since the 19 of feberuar 1706 to ye 23 of december 1706 as ffollows.'

‘Lining on drasing Roum in the Ofeshous For ye Countis of Houpton.’[1163] Not only do these two items refer to Lady Hopetoun’s closet, they also point to an alternative location for Lady Hopetoun’s apartment in the southeast corner of the main block. The question as to where an office house-based formal apartment would have been lies with the three-bay pavilions. Looking at Hopetoun’s south wing in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* plan, the southern three-bay pavilion contains a small room with a corner fireplace: this was a private closet. The large room next to it was a bedchamber. Combined with the aforementioned documentation, it is safe to say that Lady Hopetoun’s private apartment was moved to the south pavilion sometime between 1706 and 1710. This shift consequently allowed for another type of room to take the place of her old bedchamber.

Scholarship holds that a private dining room occupied this space. As mentioned above, Howard asserts that this was the purpose of this space in the Brucian era and that it was fronted by two service rooms (Lady Hopetoun’s original closets).[1164] Rowan also states that the two larger rooms on the north and south sides of the vestibule became the great dining room and the private dining room, respectively.[1165] In other words, it has been argued there were two dining rooms (great and private) in the principal storey of Bruce’s Hopetoun. There is certainly no question as to whether multiple dining rooms existed. It has already been discussed that the building accounts distinguished between the ‘north dining room’ and the ‘big dining room.’[1166] Another clue is that the 1698 contract itself specifies that multiple dining rooms had always been part of the floor plan.[1167] It is therefore perfectly reasonable that the private dining room occupied the large room in

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1163 William Eizat, ‘Houpton Hous January ye forst Jajvjct and Tene In Acompt of Wright Work bee Willm Eizat Joyner,’ building account, 1 January, 1710, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT.

1164 Howard, p. 60.

1165 Rowan, p. 188.

1166 Alexander Eizat, ‘Acct of wright work at Hoptoun House from the 30th July to 22 Decr 1705 By Alexr Eizatt,’ building account, circa 22 December, 1705, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

1167 ‘And to make the Chimneys of the Dyning Rooms, with Drawing Rooms, Chambers and Closetts….’. See Building Contract, Bundle 626, line 43 in Appendix E.

the southeast corner of the main block—especially given the fact that it would have completed the formal sequence leading to Lord Hopetoun's closets. It also could have provided the family with an intimate and informal eating space. The idea that this room instead shifted to be a private withdrawing room (which would have led into the antechamber and Lord Hopetoun's apartment) also needs to be raised. Not only would this have augmented the pomp and ceremony of the sequence leading up to Lord Hopetoun, it also would have acted as a waiting area for Lady Hopetoun's apartment. In any case, there were clearly benefits to relocating Lady Hopetoun's apartment. Lady Hopetoun also profited from this rearrangement.

The relocation of Lady Hopetoun's apartment implies that she was dissatisfied with the original layout of the house. Perhaps she found the original location right next to the entrance hall uncomfortable and wanted a greater degree of privacy. Since theirs was a fast-growing family, it is possible that the main house was reorganised to accommodate a growing number of children and Lady Henrietta's apartment fell in with these changes. Whatever the case, what is clear is that Lady Hopetoun's apartment was removed to the south pavilion, which placed her closer to the south office house. This reinforced her managerial role for the household and allowed the entirety of the ground floor of the main house to act as the centre of display, sociability, and ceremony. However, the two small rooms fronting the southern corner of the east façade remained separate from the rest of the main block. Deborah Howard asserts that they were both used as service rooms to the private dining room.[1168] However, these rooms became the main point of access between Lady Hopetoun's new bedchamber and the large room to the south of the vestibule. One or both of them potentially acted as extra closets for Lady Hopetoun. As her closet within the south pavilion itself was likely a private dressing room, she did need space where she could conduct business and carry out her daily responsibilities. Lady Hopetoun's removal to the south pavilion was not a way to belittle her status, but rather to

[1168] Howard, 'Sir William Bruce's Design for Hopetoun,' p. 60.

allow her to carry out her domestic responsibilities properly while emphasising the ceremony and formality of the principal storey. The last room on the first storey that has not yet been discussed is the Garden Room.

John Macky states that Hopetoun's vestibule leads into the main staircase, followed by the 'Salloon.'[1169] That Macky also notes that this room fronted the garden indicates that this was what the Brucian building accounts refer to (in varying forms) as the 'Garden roum.'[1170] Macky makes it seem as though the garden room functioned as a *salon* by his visit in 1723. However, Campbell records that the *salon* was located on the second floor as late as 1717. It is possible that some change happened to the Garden Room between 1717 and 1723, as it did with Lady Hopetoun's apartment. However, the Garden Room probably did not function in that way during the first decades of the eighteenth century. Based on the fact that it was nestled in between two apartments and fronted the formal garden, the Garden Room likely acted as a parlour as the Balcony Room above did. The rooms facing the garden were more intimate and casual in nature. It was where family and visitors could gather for leisure and entertainment and was meant to balance the formality of the rest of the house.

Conclusion

There were many components, which extended from its interior to its exterior, that made up the layout of Hopetoun's main house. Each had its own particular function. The stables kept the horses and coaches while acting as an appropriate border for the inner courtyard, which was a visitor's first introduction to the main house. The portico and entrance hall together were the transitional spaces between the exterior and the rest of the house. Essentially acting as a general waiting room, the entrance hall was the least socially exclusive formal space in the house. The next room on the central axis, the main staircase, was a highly decorated room that led visitors up to

1169 Macky, p. 205.
1170 David Burton, 'Ane Acompt of new windows and windows mendet in Hoptoun House in October the 9 1706,' building account, 9 October, 1706, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

the next stage in the formal procession: the *salon,* which was a formal introduction room and great dining room. This chapter has raised the possibility that the state apartment led off the *salon* on the second storey as it did at Kinross. However, it is still possible that the state apartment was located on the north side of the first storey (as has long been held by scholars). Documentary evidence has confirmed that Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments were situated to the south side of this central axis on the principal storey. It consisted of Lord Hopetoun's apartment in the southwest corner (which has long been held by scholars), a withdrawing room, private dining room, offices in the southwest corner, and Lady Hopetoun's apartment in the south pavilion (which was moved from the southeast corner). Both the first and second storeys adapted the formal Baroque sequence to the individual needs of Lord and Lady Hopetoun. As parlours, the Garden Room and Balcony Rooms both acted as counterweights to the highly ceremonial nature of the rest of the main block.

It should be remembered that the visual design of Hopetoun's floor plan was heavily influenced by Italian—particularly Serlian—and Ludovican sources. The form and décor of the central staircase even seemed to imitate Italian-style courtyards. However, the actual organisation of rooms was a Scottish adaptation of French fashion. As with its French forebears, Hopetoun's layout emphasises ceremony and social hierarchy. The principal spaces of the main house were designed to flaunt the Hopes as aristocrats. In addition, the decorative schemes that were intended for the interior were meant to present the Hopes as wealthy, educated, and sophisticated patrons. The ultimate message that the Hopes wished to convey to visitors was that they were part of Scotland's elite and that they knew the latest aristocratic customs for domestic design. Although Hopetoun was a lavish display of their wealth and status, the Tideman paintings were meant to symbolise their moral qualities. The (surely carefully chosen) subject matter conveyed their discipline, industry, prudence, faith (particularly marital), and humility. These paintings were intended to temper anything that could be perceived as overt ostentation. It still would have required a great deal of labour to manage

Hopetoun's politic layout. Indeed, this would have been impossible to achieve without the proper support from servants. As with the inner courtyard, the interior spaces of display were furtively surrounded by service spaces; servants' constant labour had to be left unseen. The next chapter will explore the types of office houses and service rooms that existed at Hopetoun, as well as where could have been situated.

Chapter XI: The Office Houses that Directly Served Hopetoun House

Introduction

Whereas the previous chapter focussed on the public areas of the house, this chapter is concerned with those that supported the household. Hopetoun housed the Hope family itself (which was quite large on its own), as well as a household of servants. Not only was the main house a space of socio-economic and political display, but it also had to be built to accommodate a large number of people. As such, another element that Bruce had to consider when designing Hopetoun was how to make it a liveable place. As he did with Kinross, Bruce's solution was to arrange the areas of display (including Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments) and necessary offices around each other. Although the offices had to be kept hidden so that Hopetoun appeared to run seamlessly, they were also situated as conveniently as possible for the servants. There were two main categories of service spaces at Hopetoun House, which were also typical of other country houses: those that helped the household in general to run as efficiently as possible and those that helped to feed the household. This chapter will be split into two main sections discussing each category. Sub-sections will be used to discuss individual offices.

The former type includes: the wash house; the woman-house and the nursery; the laigh hall, lettermeit room, and the second table room; the porter lodge; and the coal houses. The latter type includes: the kitchen and the kitchen yard; the bakehouse and bake court; the brewhouse and still-house; and the cellars, the larder (the Scots term is ladner), and pantry. Although many of these offices would have been located in the basement and the north and south office houses, others would have been kept separately in the vicinity of the main house. As always, it is difficult to make any definitive statement regarding this matter without any of Bruce's notes or detailed floor plans from the period. Nonetheless, Hopetoun's building accounts used in conjunction with Alexander Edward's detailed floor plan of Kinross House will

give modern readers some idea of how Bruce designed Hopetoun's service spaces. Even without precise knowledge over the arrangement of those areas, it is essential to discuss Hopetoun's offices because they reveal how the main house fundamentally worked. Ultimately, this chapter will establish the reasoning and purpose of Hopetoun's design on a deeper level than would normally be possible.

I. Offices that Helped Run the Household in General

i. The Wash-House

Hopetoun's wash-house is first recorded in the same building account from 1701 that details the extensions made to the north and south office houses and the pavilions. Bachope states that he worked at installing the wash-house's fireplace and flue.[1171] Bachope carried out further stonework at the wash-house between 1701 and 1705, such as laying down stone floors.[1172] Joseph Forester, the plumber, also carried out a great deal of work at the wash-house between 1703 and 1705. He is first recorded as having installed a small, 30 ell-long (approximately 90 feet) pipe to the wash-house.[1173] In July 1704, he replaced one of the wash-house's pipes.[1174] A few months later, he installed 22 yards of bore piping leading to the wash-house.[1175] Based on the available documentation, the major aspects of the wash-house's construction were carried out between 1699 and 1705, which was around the same period that the bulk of the main house was finished.

1171 Sherriff, 'Acct of Aditionall Mason work at the houses of Abercorn not Containd in Contract all which is finished preceding the 1st 1701.'

1172 Tobias Bachope, 'Ane acompt off work wrought to the Right Honnourabell the Earell of Hoptoun by Tobias Bachope in the year 1703 and 1704 as ffollowes,' building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT; Bachope, 'Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of Hoptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous'; Tobias Bachope, 'The Measure of Masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptouns house done be Tobias Bachope Masone Deser 5th 1705.'

1173 Unknown Writer [Joseph Forster?], 'Delivd an accompt to the Hond Charles Hope of Hopton June 6th 1703 for Lead Work done at Hopton house and there remains due to me upon balance of the same thirty four Pounds twelve shillings four Pence Sterling (£34.12s.4d)'; Unknown Writer [Joseph Forster?], 'An accompt of Lead Work done at the house of Abercorn from June 1701 untill Decr 1705 as foll.'

1174 Unknown Writer [Joseph Forster?], 'Delivered an account to the Honble the Earl of Hopton Oct 6th 1703 came to £27.11s.4d'; Unknown Writer [Joseph Forster], 'An accompt of Lead Work done at the house of Abercorn from June 1701 untill Decr 1705 as foll.'

1175 *Ibid.*

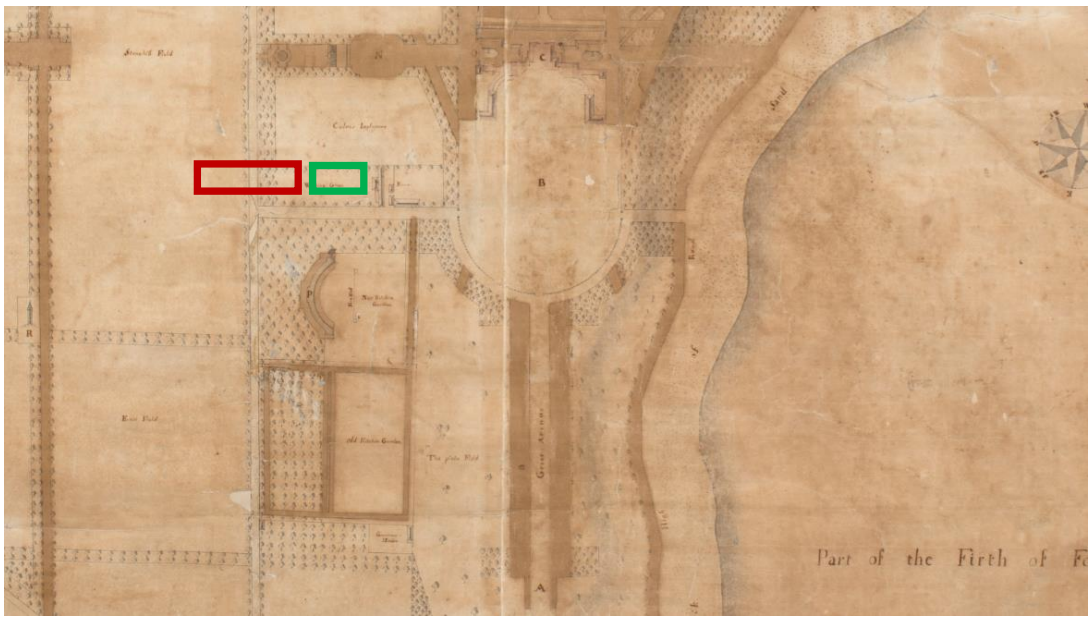
The building accounts also hint at where the wash-house was originally located.

Within the item in which Forester describes installing bore piping to the wash-house, he specifically states that he installed it 'into the Spaniell hawk Court & wash house.'[1176] It is reasonable to surmise that if Forester installed piping to both these spaces, they were located within the same vicinity of one another. The seventh chapter discussed the likelihood that the spaniel and hawk court was located on the southeast side of the main house. Thus, the wash-house was nearby. Further documentation regarding the wash-house corroborates this claim. In 1704, Forester specifies that he removed piping from 'the south office house where they wash.'[1177] Bachope also specifies that pavement was laid in 'the office Houes [,] washing houes.'[1178] These items present to possibilities. The first is that the wash-house was located within the south office house that extended from the main house's south pavilion. The second is that the wash-house was a separate building located to the south of the main house. The latter option seems more likely. Not only does it allow for the possibility that it was located near the spaniel and hawk courts, it makes sense from a practical point of view. Washing was a hot, odorous, labourious, and undoubtedly noisy endeavour. Separating the main house from this activity gave the servants the space and freedom to carry out their job. Furthermore, it kept this unskilled chore away from the elite spaces and skilled trades of the main house. This corroborates with William Adam's estate plan, which shows that the washing green and barns (which, it should be remembered, is believed to be the original location of the spaniel and hawk court) were situated right next to each other (*Figure 11.1*). The question remains as to how a wash-house fits within the context of post-Restoration country houses and aristocratic lifestyles.

1176 Unknown Writer [Joseph Forster?], 'An accompt of Lead Work done at the house of Abercorn from June 1701 untill Decr 1705 as foll.'

1177 Unknown Writer [Joseph Forster?], 'Delivered an account to the Honble the Earl of Hopton Oct 6th 1703 came to £27.11s.4d.'

1178 Unknown Writer [Joseph Forster?], 'Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of Hoptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous.'



(*Figure 11.1,* Closeup of William Adam estate plan, eastern side of main house. Area circled in red is labelled as 'washing green' and the area circled in green is labelled as 'barns')

The purpose of the wash-house at Hopetoun House was to wash the household's clothes, linens, and other textiles. The buildings and the activities that took place therein were key to the successful running of any wealthy household, including the Hopes'. Not only was it essential for the Hopes to keep their best clothes in good condition for appearance's sake, it was considered hygienic to have clean linens (shirts and shifts) in this period. Hopetoun's wash-house would have been a busy space. Furthermore, the home-manufacture of textiles was important to all levels of society since cloth was considered a valuable commodity and a mark of wealth.[1179] Even if the highest ranks of society wore clothes made of luxury textiles, homespun wool was necessary to clothe their servants (and to trade domestically and internationally). Spinning, weaving, dying, churning, yearning, knitting, and bleaching were also involved in the production and maintenance of cloth, in

[1179] Annette Carruthers, '4: The Kitchen,' from Annette Carruthers, ed., *The Scottish Home* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing, 1996): p. 89; Stana Nenadic, 'Necessities: Food and Clothing in the Long Eighteenth Century,' from Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010): pp. 138, 140.

addition to the laborious task of washing.[1180] Due to the value of textiles in this period, it was essential to maintain them carefully.[1181]

Without further documentation such as inventories or detailed floor plans, it is difficult to state definitively how Hopetoun's wash-house was used beyond washing and reparing clothes. It is possible that Hopetoun's wash-house was used for textile production. Another important and typical activity was bleaching. The Third Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn (1643-1695) had a wash-house and bleaching house built in the back court of Glamis Castle; although separate buildings, these activities took place in the same vicinity.[1182] Kinross House also had a separate wash-house and bleach-house on the right-hand side of its forecourt.[1183] Since there is no record of a separate space for bleaching in Hopetoun's building accounts, it seems likely that washing and bleaching took place in Hopetoun's wash-house. Washing was a gendered activity that was performed by lower-paid female servants who were all managed by a housekeeper.[1184] The gendered nature of domestic chores, as well as the ways in which of male and female servant-spaces were arranged at country houses, has been previously discussed by other scholars.

In discussing House of the Binns, McKean suggested that the east and west wings were organised by gender since the east wing contained the woman-house.[1185] John Lowrey also examined this notion in his analysis of Kinross House's layout. He points out that Kinross's quadrant colonnades divided its two yards by gender. The left yard, containing the kitchen and brewhouse, was male. The right yard, containing the milk-house, outer woman-house, and wash-house, was female. This separation continued into Kinross's basement in that the inner woman-house and nursery were on the

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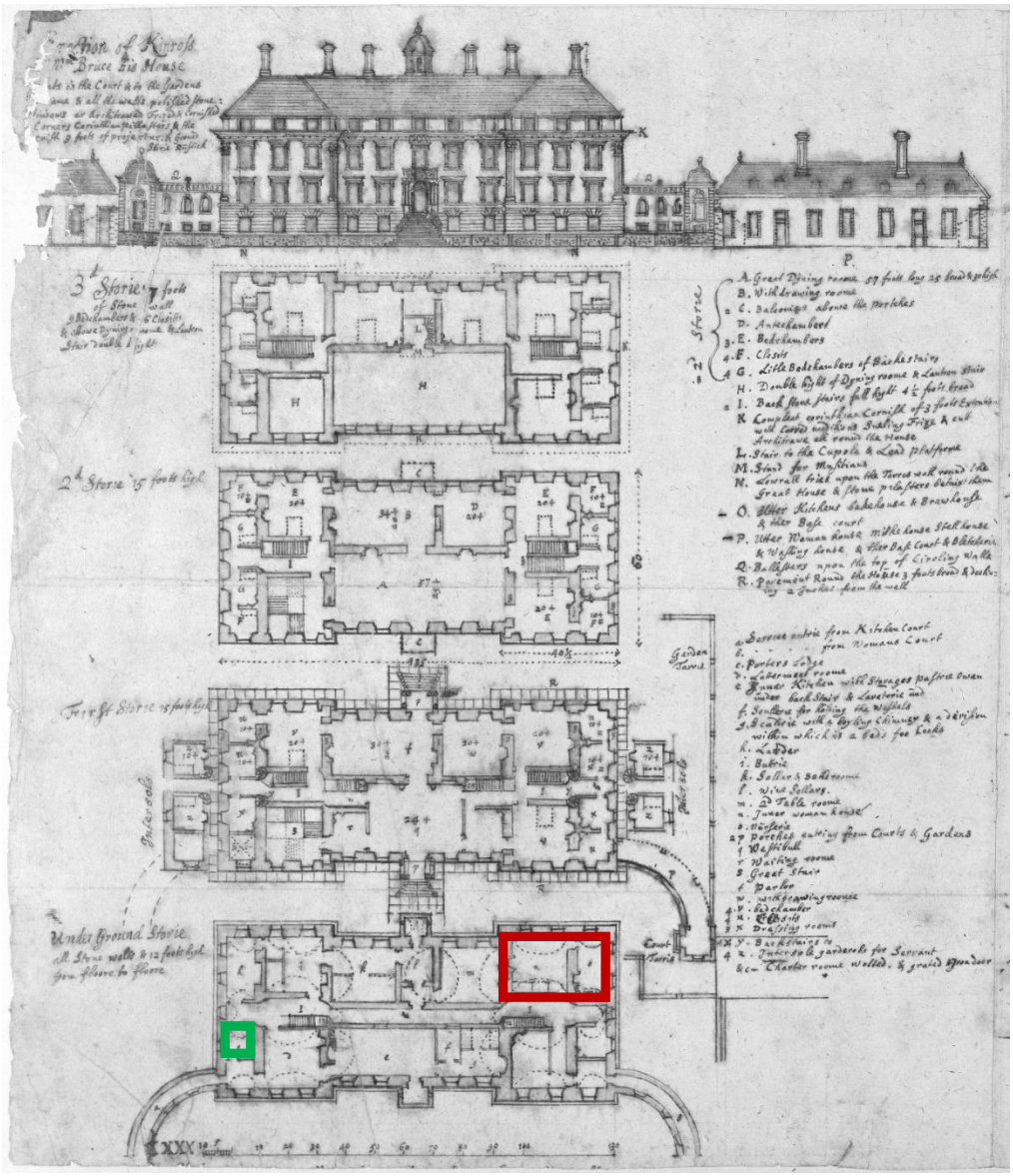
1180 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 89.
1181 *Ibid.*
1182 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards, and the Woman House,' p. 32.
1183 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 163.
1184 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 89; McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards, and the Woman House,' p. 26.
1185 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards, and the Woman House,' p. 26.

right side.[1186] It should also be noted that these rooms were completely separated from the rest of Kinross's basement, which was mainly devoted to the preparation and storage of food (*Figure 11.2*).[1187] The gendering of service spaces occurred at Hopetoun, as well.



(*Figure 11.2,* Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, Draught of the First Storey of Kinross House Floor plan, circa 1700, from *Canmore,* ID Number SC 1034209. Space marked in red contains inner woman-house and nursery. Except for the porter lodge—green—the rest of the basement is devoted to the preparation and storage of food)

1186 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 163.

1187 Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, 'Floor plans of Kinross House, circa 1700,' from *Canmore,* Image ID SC 1034209 (hi-definition digital image obtained privately via Canmore).

ii. The Woman-House and the Nursery

Hopetoun also contained a woman-house and a nursery. There are no records regarding the actual construction of the woman-house in Hopetoun's building accounts. William Aitken and George Livingston, Hopetoun's blacksmiths, and David Burton, the glazier, were the only craftsmen to record any activity at the woman-house between 1707 and 1718. Even then, the crafting, installation, and repair of various metal objects (including a fireplace shovel and candlesticks) were all that they were tasked with doing.[1188] This office was clearly completed sometime before 1707 and did not require a great deal of maintenance thereafter. Records of the nursery are much more frequent in the building accounts. In the first few mentions of it, Aitken repaired its lock in 1704 and Alexander Eizat installed bars and foot-banks on the nursery's windows in 1705.[1189] Aitken returned to the nursery in 1706 to install an oven in the fireplace and David Burton mended its windows in 1708.[1190] In short, although the nursery seems to have been basically completed before 1704, it required some maintenance and finishing touches. Between 1708 and 1718, the only activity taking place in the nursery was the crafting and repair of various metal objects used in the room. Both the woman-house and nursery may have been in use before the rest of the house was completed.

The functions of both offices remained in the realm of female domesticity. Scholars have identified several functions for the woman-house. McKean stated that the woman-house functioned as the female servants'

1188 David Burton, 'Acompt the hail of Hoppton as David Burton'; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptou wroght by me William Aitken Smith 13 December 1707'; George Livingston, 'Accompt of Iron Work wrought to the right Honnorable The Earle of Hoptoun Be George Livingstone Smith, 1715,' circa 1715, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT; George Livingston, 'Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingstoun smith at Society in December 1718,' December, 1718, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT.

1189 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron and bras work to the right honnorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken Smith begun Octo 1704'; Alexander Eizat, 'Acct of wright work at Hoptoun House from the 30th July to 22 Decr 1705 By Alexr Eizatt.'

1190 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken begun the 13 day of Septem 1706'; David Burton, 'Acompt the Eairll of Hopton to David Burton 24 Janry 1708.'

working-quarters.[1191] It was here that they could carry out such tasks as spinning and weaving. Lowrey states that the woman-house was a combined accommodation and work-space for female servants.[1192] He agrees with McKean that the woman-house would have been associated with textile production and maintenance.[1193] Finally, Annette Carruthers asserts that it was in the woman-house of large and wealthy households that precious items of silver or glass were stored.[1194] Hopetoun's woman-house likely functioned in all three ways.

Meanwhile, the purpose of the nursery is self-explanatory: it was used to house and care for the Hopes' many young children. Interestingly, the fact that Hopetoun's nursery contained an oven indicates that some baking occurred there. The softness of bread made it the ideal food for teething babies in this period. Baking bread onsite saved nurses the trouble of leaving the children alone to fetch it from the bakehouse. Kinross can provide some indication as to the location of both offices. As mentioned above, Lowrey notes that there was an outer- and inner-woman-house at Kinross. While the former occupied the right office house, the latter was kept with the nursery on the right side of the basement. It is therefore likely that Hopetoun's woman-house and nursery were kept secluded in the basement. Another more likely possibility is that both were located in the south office house, which was closer to the wash-house and on the side of Lord and Lady Hopetoun's private apartments. Either way, both the woman-house and nursery were part of the proper management of the household and care of the family. In addition to separate spaces for the maids, Hopetoun also contained communal spaces for servants.

iii. The Laigh Hall, the Lettermeit Room, and the Second Table Room

1191 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards, and the Woman House,' p. 26.
1192 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism,' p. 164.
1193 *Ibid.*
1194 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 89.

One of these rooms was the laigh hall. According to McKean, this type of room originated at House of the Binns in the early seventeenth century as a ground- or basement-storey reception room.[1195] While the formal rooms occupied the upper storeys of the house, the business rooms in which the laird could deal with tenants and other people of similar status were kept in the lower storeys.[1196] This was quite a literal hierarchical division. The presence of a laigh hall is recorded at Hopetoun House, which makes sense given the Hopes' many economic ventures. William Aitken mended a fireplace in the laigh hall in 1705 and David Burton repaired one of its windows in 1708.[1197] Hopetoun's laigh hall even had an antechamber in which low-status visitors would have to wait before entering the laigh hall.[1198] Although there is no floor plan of the layout of the basement storey of Bruce's Hopetoun, it is at least clear that the laigh antechamber preceded the laigh hall. On a symbolic level, formality, etiquette, and hierarchy shaped even the basement storey's spaces.

This influence extended to the eating spaces for Hopetoun's servants. It was during the seventeenth century that the gradual spatial division of great households based on hierarchy took place.[1199] Not only did this take place in England, but also in Scotland, where patriarchal hierarchy within the household became increasingly important from the sixteenth century.[1200] During the Middle Ages, the great hall in both countries had been the ubiquitous dining space for the entire household and guests; its seating

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1195 Charles McKean, *The Scottish Château: The Country House in Renaissance Scotland* (Phoenix Mill, Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001), p. 197.

1196 *Ibid.*

1197 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by William Aitken Smith,' 1705, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT; David Burton, 'Acompt the Eairll of Hopton to David Burton 24 Janry 1708,' 1708, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT.

1198 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron & bras work for the right honorabel The Earl of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken Smith be gun January first 1706,' 1 January, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

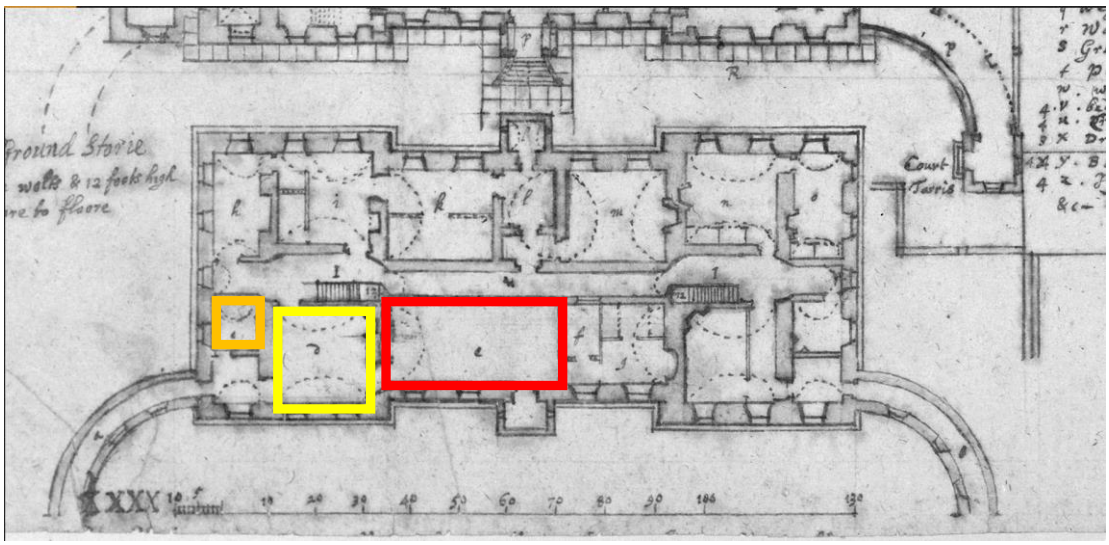
1199 Girouard, pp. 10-1, 30-1.

1200 R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, 'Introduction: Scottish Society in Perspective,' from R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, editors, *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010): p. 21.

arrangement was arranged hierarchically.[1201] By the seventeenth century, the greater emphasis on social division and the desire for privacy amongst high-ranking families led to servants being relegated to entirely separate spaces.[1202] As the previous chapter discussed, this was also when formal layouts came into fashion in both England and Scotland, displacing the communal great hall. As such, this influenced where and how servants and those of lower status could commune or eat.

This phenomenon is reflected in the servile eating spaces at Hopetoun, one of which was the lettermeit room. This was the general chamber in which servants ate after the family finished their meals.[1203] The only record of the lettermeit room in Hopetoun's building accounts dates from 1708 when David Burton records repairing one of its lozenge windows.[1204] Nonetheless, it is clear that it existed. McKean notes that older houses, like Tyninghame, transformed their old great halls into the lettermeit halls.[1205] Other houses kept the lettermeit rooms in the ground- or basement-storeys amongst the storerooms, as Castle Lyon and Kinross did.[1206] Since Hopetoun was a newly-built house, its lettermeit room was also likely kept in the basement. It should be noted that Kinross's lettermeit room was conveniently located between the porter lodge and the main kitchen (*Figure 11.3*). This was not the only dining space for servants at Hopetoun.

1201 Girouard, pp. 30-1; David Jones, '5: The Hall and Lobby,' from Carruthers, ed., pp. 106-7;
1202 Girouard, pp. 30-1, 46, 120; Jones, '5: The Hall and Lobby,' pp. 106-7.
1203 McKean, *Scottish Château,* pp. 197, 243.
1204 Burton, 'Acompt the Eairll.'
1205 *Ibid.*
1206 Charles Wemyss, *The Noble Houses of Scotland, 1600-1800*, p. 106.



(*Figure 11.3,* Closeup of Alexander Edward's basement floor plan of Kinross. Porter lodge outlined in orange. Lettermeit room outlined in yellow. Kitchen outlined in red)

Another was the second table room, for which very little evidence exists. Nevertheless, the scant documentation that is available relating to this room provides some insight into how it functioned. A 1768 inventory of Hopetoun House records that the second table room was furnished with the following objects: a clock with a gilt head and a varnished and veneered case; a painted, fir press with white, ornamental knobs on top; a large oak folding table; a walnut corner cupboard; a sycamore folding table; a small oak folding table; fourteen elm chairs with leather seats; fireplace accessories; an oak plate tray; an oak knife box; and a small, old stand. Finally, three sides of the room were covered in figured wallpaper.[1207] The second table room evidently functioned as a dining room in 1768. While this room was well-furnished, it was much more modest than the Great Dining Room was at the time, which was filled with such items as mahogany furniture, imported china, tapestries, and oil paintings.[1208] Thus, the second table room was a lower-status dining room. Although it is likely that its furnishings changed in the seventy-years between Hopetoun's construction and the compilation of this inventory, the second table room most likely always retained the same

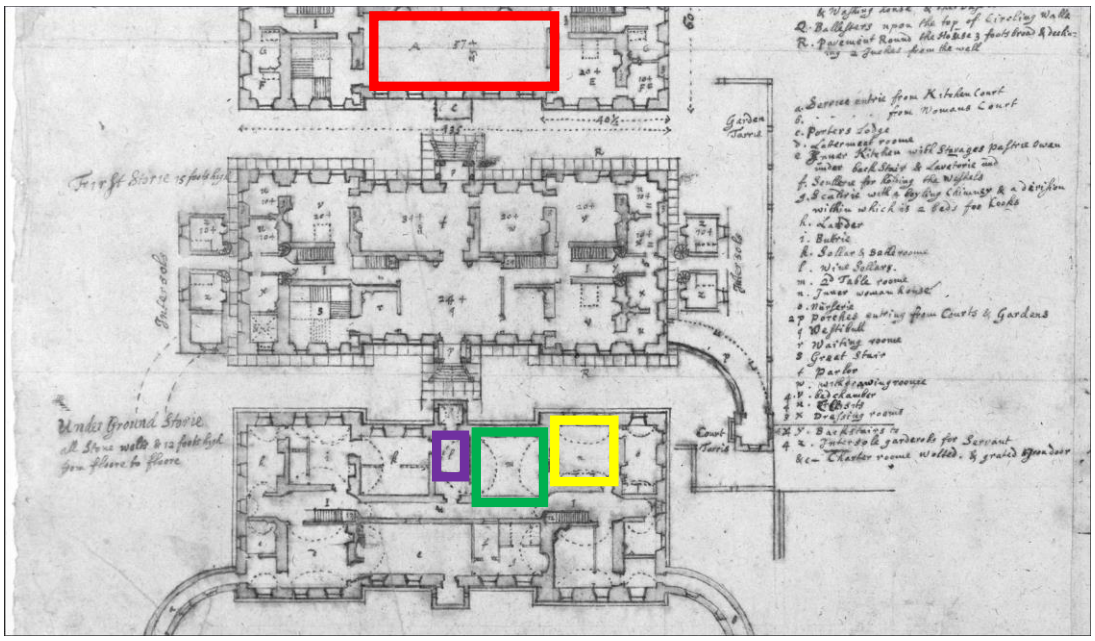
1207 Unknown Writer, 'General Inventory of Furniture, November 1768 Revised November 1780.'
1208 *Ibid.*

function. That William Aitken recorded in 1707 crafting some new forks and knives for the second table room supports this notion.[1209] The second table room's elegant, but not extravagant, furnishings indicates that it was used either as an informal family dining room or a dining room for some of Hopetoun's servants.

Narrowing down its location will help in deciphering who used the second table room. Hopetoun's building contract, it should be remembered, states that 'the Kitchin, Sellars, Stair Case, Ladner, Second tableroom &c: are to be Vaulted as they are marked in the sd Draught.'[1210] Since the second table room was ordered to have a vaulted ceiling, the logical assumption is that it was situated in the basement. Alexander Edward's plans of Kinross House, which provides the only evidence relating to this type of room in other houses, also shows a second table room in the basement (*Figure 11.4*). While Kinross's great dining room occupied the largest, two-storey-tall room at the centre of the second floor, the second table room occupied a small space between the wine cellar and the inner woman-house. Within the scope of Bruce's designs, at least, the location of Hopetoun's second table room was not unusual. A basement location amongst other service areas indicates that the second table room did act as a dining room for servants. Due to the aforementioned style of furnishing for the second table room, it was likely used by the highest-ranking ones, such as the chaplain and factor. These were not labourers—skilled or otherwise—but educated professionals. As such, though relegated to the basement, they dined in a manner befitting their household status. Hierarchy played a key role in the organisation of Hopetoun's spaces and household. Function nevertheless remained a key element in the spaces devoted to Hopetoun's management.

1209 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptou wroght by me William Aitken Smith 13 December 1707.'

1210 Hopetoun Building Contract, lines 47-8.



(*Figure 11.4,* Closeup of Alexander Edward's Floor plans of Kinross House. Great Dining Room outlined in red. Inner woman-house outlined in yellow. Second table room outlined in green. Cellar outlined in purple)

iv. The Porter Lodge

One of these basic rooms was the porter lodge, whose presence at Hopetoun is first documented in 1705 when Aitken crafted tools for it.[1211] McKean describes this room as a country house's fore-entry.[1212] The one at Kinross, it should be remembered, was located in the northwest corner of the basement and could be accessed via the north quadrant (see *Figure 11.3*). Kinross's porter lodge also preceded the lettermeit room, which indicates that a porter lodge acted as a sort of security checkpoint for visitors. As a consequence, it is likely that Hopetoun's porter lodge was located in the basement and that it preceded the laigh antechamber. Although the entrance into the basement storey does not appear in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving, it is possible that it was hidden beneath the east façade's staircase—especially given the fact that this entrance exists at Hopetoun today. Not only would the porter lodge have acted as a security check, it also reinforced Hopetoun's hierarchical design: while standard visitors (such as

1211 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by William Aitken Smith.'

1212 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 22.

tenants) entered representing themselves, higher-status guests could send representative servants to alert the household of their presence. In short, the porter carried out the important duty of maintaining and monitoring the flow of people coming in and out of the house. This was key for an industrial family like the Hopes. As a country seat, Hopetoun House was part of Scotland's political and economic machines and so was designed to carry out the social norms that were part of those realms.

v. The Coalhouses

At the same time, Hopetoun's dual nature as a powerful family's headquarters and as the home of a large household is reflected in its coalhouses. The first record of the existence of a coalhouse at Hopetoun is from 1705 when Aitken recorded crafting a new key for it.[1213] It is clear that multiple coalhouses existed at Hopetoun because in the following year, Aitken recorded crafting a new lock for 'the cool [sic] hous on the noth [sic] said [sic]' and mending a lock and key for the 'old cool hous.'[1214] In 1707, Aitken mended another lock to the 'little cool hous' and crafted a key for the 'south cool hous.'[1215] Given the size of Hopetoun House and the amount of fuel that was required to carry out even the most basic of everyday activities, it is clear that it was necessary for Hopetoun to have multiple coalhouses. Since the two main sources of fuel in Scotland were peat (particularly in the Highlands and Islands) and coal (particularly in the more populous Lowlands), Hopetoun was far from the only country house to have this type of office house.[1216] McKean notes that Newton Castle (Hamilton-Sanquhar, Ayr) had a coalhouse, as did Castle Lyon.[1217] One of the reasons why coal was

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1213 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by William Aitken Smith.'

1214 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honorabel the Eral of Hoptoun by me William Aitken smith May 15 1706,' 15 May, 1706, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT.

1215 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptou wroght by me William Aitken Smith 13 December 1707.'

1216 Gifford, p.17; Maisie Steven, *Parish Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: A Review of the Old Statistical Account* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995), pp. 26-7; Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 84.

1217 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' pp. 22, 30.

such a popular source of fuel in the Lothians was because it was a plentiful resource across the Lowlands and Fife.[1218] Although Scotland's coal tax made it difficult to obtain for poor families, coal was still relatively cheap in Scotland and was therefore a key part of the running of households across a number of socio-economic spectra.[1219] Coal was also popular for both industrial and private purposes due to the simple fact that it burns hot and slow.[1220]

Hopetoun's kitchen is recorded as having tools designed for coal-fuelled fires, such as tongs and shovels.[1221] Although a basic necessity, coal fires in a well-built fireplace were something of a luxury at the end of the seventeenth century. Part of this had to do with the fact that the construction of chimneys, as well as the frequent purchase of massive amounts of coal, were both expensive. Furthermore, the hearth tax of fourteen shillings per hearth ultimately meant that few people could afford more than two fireplaces in the 1690s.[1222] However, Lady Margaret paid a tax for sixteen fireplaces at Midhope Castle in 1695 and for nineteen fireplaces at Niddry Castle that same year.[1223] This expense was clearly not a concern for the Hopes. Hopetoun was undoubtedly built with plenty of fireplaces and kept an abundant supply of coal at its disposal.[1224] Together, they would have kept a

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1218 Gifford, p. 16; Hay, from Fenton and Veitch, eds, pp. 244-5.

1219 Steven, pp. 14, 26-8; Nenadic, from Foyster and Whatley, eds., p. 149.

1220 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 86.

1221 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work wroght to the right Honorabel the Erale of Hoptoun for Hoptoun hous wroght be me William Aitken Smith'; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the right honourable the Eral of Hoptoun wroght & furnished by me William Aitken begun May 16 1707.'

1222 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 85; Scotlands Places, 'Hearth tax records, 1691-1695,' *Scotlands Places s*https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/historical-tax-rolls/hearth-tax-records-1691-1695 (accessed 29 August, 2018).

1223 Scotlands Places, 'Hearth tax records for West Lothian, volume 1, E69/24/1/3,' *Scotlands Places,* https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/historical-tax-rolls/hearth-tax-records-1691-1695/hearth-tax-records-west-lothian-volume-1/2 (accessed 29 August, 2018); Scotlands Places, 'Hearth tax records for West Lothian, volume 1, E69/24/1/7,' *Scotlands Places,* https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/historical-tax-rolls/hearth-tax-records-1691-1695/hearth-tax-records-west-lothian-volume-1/4 (accessed 29 August, 2018).

1224 Although the building contract does not specify the number of fireplaces Hopetoun was to have, the *Vitruvius Britannicus* floor plans shows that the principal floor alone had seventeen of them. The total number of fireplaces contained within Hopetoun's main house can only be estimated without the floor plans of other storeys. If the other three storeys

large and draughty house warmer. Moreover, coal-burning fireplaces favourably affected the type of cooking that could be done, which was particularly important for large, prestigious households like Hopetoun's.[1225] A well-run kitchen that produced good food was a key marker of status in this period.

II. The Offices that Helped Feed Hopetoun's Household

i. The Kitchen and Kitchen Yard

Food preparation was an important activity for every social echelon. At the same time, culinary methods and the spaces in which these activities took place differed widely between aristocratic and low-status households. According to Carruthers:

> 'the size of the house and number of people living in it, their work and leisure activities have a direct effect on the type of kitchen wanted. Social attitudes, size of income, and availability of labour dictate whether the house is run by the householder and family or is staffed by servants.'[1226]

Kitchens in large houses like Hopetoun were distinct from those in smaller dwellings. In the former, kitchens would have been solely devoted to cooking. However, few people could afford to build on a grand enough scale to keep separate kitchens. As such, kitchens in smaller dwellings were multi-purpose spaces.[1227] Although painted in 1812 (and surely with some artistic license), Sir David Wilkie's 'Blind Man's Bluff' can provide some idea of how the dwellings for people of lower status appeared (*Figure 11.5*).[1228]

(including the basement and attic) contained a similar number, Hopetoun's main house must have contained around fifty fireplaces!

1225 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 84.

1226 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' p. 83.

1227 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., 'The Kitchen,' pp. 83, 85-6.

1228 Sir David Wilkie, 'Blind Man's Bluff,' 1812, oil on panel, 63.2x91.8cm, the Royal Collection Trust, from *The Royal Collection Trust*, https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/405537/blind-mans-buff (accessed 30 August, 2018).

(*Figure 11.5,* Sir David Wilkie, ‘Blind Man’s Bluff,’ 1812, oil on panel, 63.2x91.8cm, from *The Royal Collection Trust*)

Sir David Wilkie created a romanticised vision of a provincial Scottish family playing the eponymous game in a large room. This family had enough money to have a stone (rather than packed-earth) floor and to clothe themselves with such fineries as leather boots and ribbons. At the same time, the fact that the back window contains no glass and the general simplicity of the space imply their minimal affluence. The furniture, mainly a large table and about a dozen stacked up chairs, is simple in appearance and has been moved aside to provide the figures with more space. Eight of the group are clustered around a long and careworn bench. Clearly, this space was used for both dining and lounging. At the same time, the large fireplace behind the blindfolded man notably has a mechanical turnspit. Although this was a recent innovation, it points to the fact that the fireplace was multi-purpose: it was used for cooking while it kept the room warm. A table piled with herbs and vegetables rests against the back wall underneath the window; various cooking implements hang on the wall next to it. Cooking was clearly this room’s tertiary purpose alongside leisure and community. Indeed, the fact that the all women wear aprons indicate that they, and not servants, were

responsible for cooking. However, Wilkie's painting notably depicts a house and household of comfortable means rather than the dwelling of a truly impoverished family. Despite this and its Regency-period setting, this painting provides some insight into how the house of a post-Restoration family of similar status would have appeared.

Such houses would have existed in stark contrast to extravagant new country houses like Hopetoun in both appearance and management. The number of servants in a household was directly proportional to the rank (and wealth) of the owner.[1229] While elite women (such as Lady Margaret or Lady Henrietta) managed households from a financial angle, they had increasingly less interaction with the kitchens themselves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1230] Instead, culinary servants managed cooking and were responsible for the preparation of huge amounts of sustenance daily.[1231] Since massive quantities of food and drink were required to support the largest households, they would have been produced separately.[1232] William Aitken and George Livingston recorded making repairs for both the cooks and brewers, for example.[1233] As grooms slept in or near the stables, culinary servants slept in the kitchens.[1234] At Kinross, space was also set aside for the cooks to sleep in the scullery (*Figure 11.6*). This further stratified the household between domestic servants and the family. Because large and wealthy households could afford a wider away of cooking tools (such as roasting spits, frying pans, dripping pans, gridirons, special egg cookers, or kettles), cooks could prepare more complex or difficult dishes than smaller households could.[1235] These types of dishes were prepared in addition to

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1229 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 21.

1230 Nenadic, from Foyster and Whatley, eds., p. 150; Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., pp. 89-90.

1231 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., p. 89.

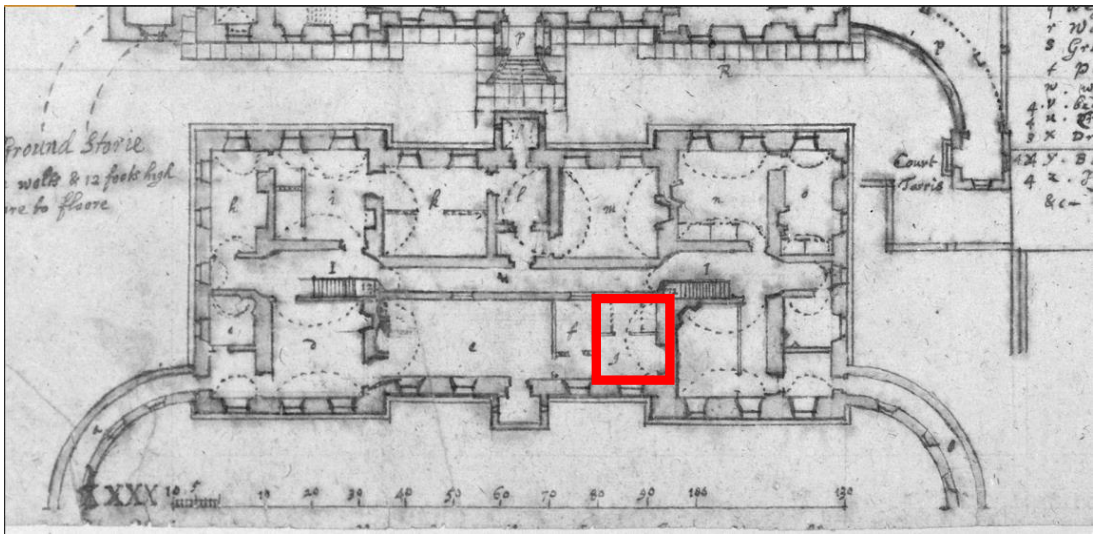
1232 Carruthers, from Carruthers ed., p. 86.

1233 William Aitken, 'Accompt of Iron Work wrought to the right Honnorable The Earle of Hoptoun Be George Livingstone Smith, 1715'; George Livingston, 'Accott the E: of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith in society, July 1717,' July, 1717, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT.

1234 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 87.

1235 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., pp. 86-91.

preserving food (through smoking, salting, pickling, and bottling).[1236] Furthermore, regular meat consumption was a symbol of affluence across Europe, as well as in Scotland.



(*Figure 11.6,* Closeup of Alexander Edward's floor plan of Kinross's basement. Scullery circled in red)

Since a varied diet (or rather, meat-based) was such an important status symbol, wealthy Scottish families vied to eat meat regularly, if not daily. Lady Henrietta recorded in February 1705 alone that the family ate such luxuries as roasted wild fowls and hens, veal head, rabbits, legs and collops of mutton, oysters, oyster omelettes, leavened bread and butter, roasted pork, boiled fowls, and fricasseed fowls.[1237] Even without inventories of the types of tools that were in Hopetoun's kitchen, it is clear that it contained a wide variety of them. Such an array of dishes speaks to the skill of Hopetoun's cooks and to the resources they had to execute their job properly. Even though all this was consumed alongside preserved items like salted beef, these dishes were still prepared in the middle of winter.[1238] The Hopes were not in want of fresh meat, which was one of the ultimate symbols

1236 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 83.

1237 Lady Henrietta Hope, 'Ane Comptt: booke,' February 1705, account of food consumption, NRAS/888 Bundle 285, HHPT. It should be noted that fricassee was and is a dish of cut-up meat that has been sautéed and braised and is then traditionally served with a white sauce. A white sauce is made from a white roux and milk. This would have been quite a luxurious dish at the end of the seventeenth century, especially considering that the 1690s were dotted with country-wide famines.

1238 *Ibid.*

of status in this period (particularly in the winter). Moreover, Lady Henrietta noted that even the servants consumed salted beef and preserved fish for dinner.[1239] That they were regularly given meat and fish is another mark of the Hopes' wealth. Her note of the servants' fare also brings to light the notion that Hopetoun's cooks were responsible for feeding the entire household and not just the family. This raises the question as to when, where, and how the kitchen would have been situated in Bruce's Hopetoun.

It was necessary that a kitchen as busy as Hopetoun's would have had to have been serviceable as early as possible in the building process. Besides the building contract, the earliest record of the presence of a kitchen at Hopetoun is from 1703.[1240] Even though the decorative aspects of the house was not fully completed until 1707, it is clear that the functional parts of it had reached a stage of completion that permitted the household to consume bountiful meals there by 1705. Hopetoun's kitchen was also vaulted, which meant that it was in the basement: not only would stone vaults have helped support the weight of the rest of the house, it also would have regulated the kitchen's heat. Furthermore, properly designed chimney flues would have helped in reducing smokiness. Hopetoun was far from the only country house with a vaulted, basement-level kitchen.

In fact, this was standard practice in castles and tower houses across Scotland.[1241] Because stone was in such abundant supply across the country, kitchens set within the house did not cause the same amount of concern over fire safety as they would have in places where wood was the primary building material.[1242] Not only did the Earl's Palace at Kirkwall in Orkney contain a vaulted, basement-level kitchen, so did Tyninghame House, Gallery House in Montrose, and Invermay House in Perthshire.[1243] In

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1239 *Ibid.*

1240 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703.'

1241 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 84; McKean, *Scottish Châteaux,* p. 245.

1242 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 84.

1243 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 86; McKean, *Scottish Châteaux,* p. 197; Dunbar and Davies, eds., pp. 296, 311.

fact, one simply has to visit Linlithgow and Stirling Palaces to see that they had the same types of kitchens. This practice continued into the post-Restoration period. John Reid notably recommended in *The Scots Gard'ner* (1683) that new houses should be built with vaulted, semi-subterranean basements to keep kitchens, cellars, larders, and other such offices.[1244]

Not only did theorists believe this arrangement to be the best solution, architectural practitioners also incorporated this into their designs. Kinross had a basement-level kitchen (which was likely also vaulted) situated between the lettermeit hall and the scullery (*Figure 11.7*). Given the similarities between Hopetoun and Kinross, it is safe to assume that the kitchen would have been similarly situated at Hopetoun. Part of the reason behind the popularity of basement-level kitchens was that they were convenient; 'this was the practical place for bringing in stores and removing waste, and especially for carrying in heavy water and fuel.'[1245] Water was an essential resource for cooking and every country house, town, and city was dependent on a proper supply of water. Before indoor plumbing and running water became common, obtaining any quantity of water was much more time-consuming and labourious since it had to be fetched by hand. A single bucket (which would have necessarily been made of very dense wood) full of water is very heavy. Part, or even most, of some servants' days would have been devoted to fetching water—especially when it had to be brought into the house from outside.[1246] Thankfully for Hopetoun's servants, there was a well inside the kitchen.[1247]

1244 Reid, p. 1.
1245 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., p. 84.
1246 Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., pp. 84, 89.
1247 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703.'

(*Figure 11.7,* Cloesup of Alexander Edward's floor plan of Kinross's basement. Lettermeit hall circled in green, kitchen circled in red, scullery circled in blue)

In addition, there was a 'great Pipe that goes round the house into the Kitchin of ye great house measur'd one hundred & thirteen Ells [approximately 339 feet],' as well as a 'a small Pipe to the great Kitchin measur'd six Ell [approximately eighteen feet].'[1248] It is very unlikely that there was running water at Hopetoun this early (especially given the fact that they made use of wells). At the same time, Joseph Forester did record making and installing a pump barrel somewhere on the property.[1249] Although the landscape was planned to have waterworks, it also seems as though a rudimentary hydraulics system was installed at the main house, as well. More importantly, it seems as though it extended into the kitchen itself (as well as the wash house and spaniel and hawk court). In short, the Hopes may have made use of modern technological developments (inspired by Roman technology) in the most practical areas of the house. This system could have been used to dispose of unwanted waste from these service areas.

For the most part, however, traditional resources supported the kitchen. Aside from coal and the well mentioned above, there was also a kitchen garden at Hopetoun. Although much of the documentation pertaining

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1248 Unknown Writer (Joseph Forester?), 'Delivd an accompt.'

1249 Unknown Writer (Joseph Forester?), 'Delivered an account to the Honble the Earl of Hopton Oct 6th 1703 came to £27.11s.4d,' 1703, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT.

to Hopetoun's kitchen yard focusses on repairs made to its entrance gates, a 1711 building contract makes it clear the gardener's house was built on its east side.[1250] The sixth chapter of this dissertation also discussed the location of the Bruce-era kitchen garden, which was located at some distance from the main house to the southeast, albeit alongside the outer court. This raises the question as to whether this was common. At Kinross, the kitchen court and garden extended directly from the north quadrant (*Figure 11.8*).[1251] Furthermore, using John Slezer's engravings as a reference point, Tim Buxbaum notes that kitchen gardens were commonly kept as separate spaces (albeit often closer to the house).[1252] Slezer depicts Hatton House, for example, from the point of view of its garden façade and parterres (*Figure 11.9*).[1253] Two walls extend from the right side of the house, forming an enclosed space. This would have been its kitchen garden. His engraving of Culross House shows a grand and modernised tower house (*Figure 11.10*).[1254] The house's awkward site—with the kirk and village abutting one of its façades and its parterre—meant that the terraces and parterres were unevenly arranged at varying levels to one side of the house. Beyond the parterres was situated a small wilderness with a dramatic hill. Beyond that, in the foreground of the image, is another walled garden with a variety of carefully organised plants (including wall plants). This must have been Culross's kitchen garden. Thus, some houses chose to keep their kitchen gardens close and others did not; Hopetoun fell into the latter category.

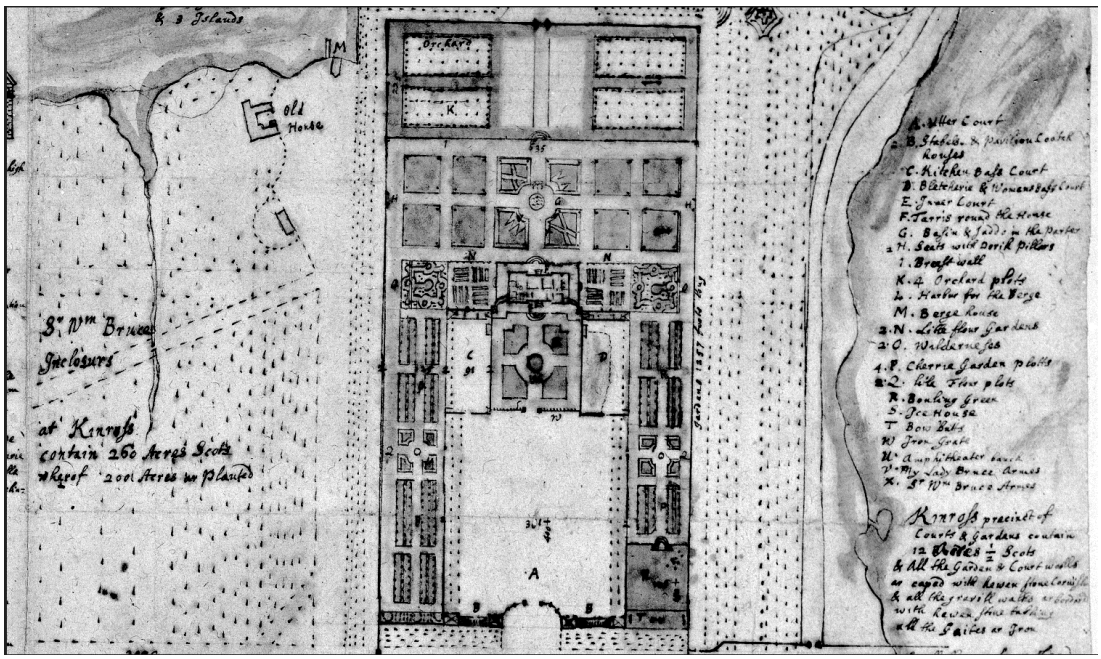
1250 William Bradful, 'Contract betwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather, 1711.'

1251 Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, 'Estate Plan of Kinross House.'

1252 Tim Buxbaum, *Scottish Garden Buildings: From Food to Folly* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co, 1989), p. 36.

1253 John Slezer, 'Argile House,' photograph, engraving, dimensions unknown, *Theatrum Scotiae* (London: printed and sold by J. Smith, 1719), plate 57, EMS.b.3.21, NLS.

1254 Slezer, 'Colrosse House,' *Theatrum Scotiae.*



(*Figure 11.8,* Closeup of Alexander Edward (attr.) and William Bruce, Estate Plan of Kinross House, circa 1700, from *Canmore,* ID Number SC 896889)

(*Figure 11.9,* John Slezer, 'Argile (Hatton) House,' engraving, dimensions unknown, from *Theatrum Scotiae,* 1719, plate 57, NLS, photograph taken by author)

(*Figure 11.10,* John Slezer, 'Colrosse House,' engraving, dimensions unknown, from *Theatrum Scotiae,* 1719, plate 52, NLS, photograph taken by author)

This was the period in which formal landscapes grew in popularity. It is also the start of when practical kitchen gardens (which were considered unsightly and smelly) were removed further away from the main house and gardens.[1255] It was not yet the overriding attitude, however: John Reid suggests that one half of a kitchen garden, 'the best of all Gardens,' be situated next to the house and the other half next to the courts.[1256] Even though Hopetoun's kitchen garden was at a good distance from the main house, it still lay on the south side of the outer court. Thus, Hopetoun accomplished keeping the practical kitchen garden away from direct view of the house but also within the same vicinity of all the key office houses. The question remains as to what the significance of kitchen gardens were. Obviously, its primary task was to cultivate produce for the household. Hopetoun's orchard was also possibly kept in the kitchen garden, which was

1255 Buxbaum, p. 36.
1256 Reid, pp. 22, 24.

a practice encouraged by Reid.[1257] However, that there were also separate cherry gardens implies they were the locations of the orchards. There are records of imported peach, cherry, and apricot seeds being brought to Hopetoun in 1704.[1258] The cultivation of fruits and vegetables clearly played an important role at Hopetoun. However, the kitchen garden was not the only office that supported the kitchen. Another one of these was the bakehouse.

ii. The Bakehouse and Bake Court

As its name implies, the purpose of a bakehouse was to bake bread. Bread, in some form or another, was consumed by every social stratum in Scotland. However, bread did represent social stratification: the type of flour used for the bread (and the subsequent method of baking) determined one's wealth or poverty. The average housewife in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made oatcakes with an iron griddle over an open fire.[1259] Oats had become the dominant foodstuff for most labourers, farmhands, and small tenants by the late sixteenth century.[1260] The average person, particularly in the Lowlands, also supplemented their diet with bere (a type of barley) and pease (a legume).[1261] From the late fifteenth century, millers or housewives would combine pease and grain flours into a substance called *mashlum.*[1262] Bread made from pease or other legumes alone was a sheer sign of poverty by the seventeenth century.[1263] Nonetheless, few people could afford to eat leavened bread made of wheat, barley, or (sometimes) rye regularly before the end of the eighteenth century.[1264] Leavened bread, particularly made from wheat, was a luxury afforded only to the country's wealthiest during the

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1257 Trustees of Hopetoun House Preservation Trust, p. 14; Reid, p. 20.

1258 Trustees of the Hopetoun House Preservation Trust, p. 14.

1259 A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, editors, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780,* p. 226, EBook (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1017/CBO9780511660252; Alexander Fenton, *Scottish Country Life* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1976), pp. 166-70.

1260 *Ibid.*

1261 *Ibid.*

1262 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* pp. 164-6.

1263 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 166.

1264 Gibson and Smout, eds., p. 226; Nenadic, from Foyster and Whatley, eds., p. 151.

post-Restoration period.[1265] While they did consume oatcakes, they could easily purchase leavened bread from bakers when in town.[1266] Those who could afford it also kept their own bake ovens.[1267] The very top social echelon built their own bakehouses.

This was not simply a status statement, however. According to McKean, 'the country seat had to be as self-sustaining as possible. It grew its own food, brewed its own beer, baked its own bread and distilled its own liquor.'[1268] Because country houses were often far away from the closest urban centre, self-sustenance was necessary from both practical and financial standpoints. Hopetoun was therefore not unique in building its own bakehouse. Newton Castle, Coltness House, and Glamis Castle all had bakehouses.[1269] Hamilton Palace also had its own bakehouse and employed a baker.[1270] The earliest record of the presence of a bakehouse at Hopetoun is from 1703 when William Aitken documented crafting a 'Scraper for the bak hous and mending my [sic] a cool [coal] raik.'[1271] The bakehouse must have been in use by around 1703 if Aitken was already crafting tools for it at that point. Since bread was such a key part of a Scot's everyday diet, it was important for Hopetoun to establish a space for baking as early as possible.

Baking was a skilled trade that required a great deal of knowledge, as well as trade-specific tools. The former tool was likely used to scrape sticky dough off the preparation table. In addition, the process of baking in this period began by heating up an oven with a fire. Once the appropriate temperature was reached, the fuel was removed or pushed aside to make space for baking. The latter tool was likely used for that purpose. Bakers

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1265 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 163.

1266 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life*, p. 163; Elizabeth Foyster, 'Sensory Experiences: Smells, Sounds and Touch,' from Foyster and Whatley, eds., p. 218; Carruthers, from Carruthers, ed., p.88.

1267 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* p. 163.

1268 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 27.

1269 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 22; McKean, *Scottish Château*, p. 240; Wemyss, *Noble Houses,* p. 112.

1270 Marshall, p. 68.

1271 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703.'

clearly exhausted their coal rakes regularly since Aitken had to make two more in 1704 and 1713, respectively.[1272] That the bakehouse also had its own court underscores its importance in sustaining Hopetoun's household.[1273] Lady Henrietta certainly records the family's regular consumption of 'ane Lof of Breid.'[1274] Another staple that appears in her diet book is beer, which appeared at both the family's and servants' tables.[1275] As was common with households across every social spectrum (except the poorest), Hopetoun produced its own ale. Once again, what distinguished Hopetoun from the average household is that it had its own brewhouse that could supply the beverage to the entire household.[1276]

iii. The Brewhouse and Still House

Building an independent brewhouse was necessary at Hopetoun in order to be able to produce enough ale for the entire household. In fact, brewhouses were common features in country houses across Scotland.[1277] The Earl's Palace in Orkney had one, as did House of the Binns, Newton, Glamis, and Coltness.[1278] Hamilton Palace's brewing operation was large enough to call for a master brewer, assistant brewers, and an independent brewhouse.[1279] This was not a new phenomenon. Even in the Middle Ages, large estates had kilns to malt grains and brewhouses to produce beer.[1280] In fact, until the popularisation of tea over the course of the eighteenth century, ale and milk had long been the standard drinks for Scots across a number of

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1272 William Aitken, 'Wiliam Aittkens Acomptt of Smith work, 1704. William Aitken Smith grants me to be fuly payd of the within written acompt the 15 day of august 1704 as witness my hand William Aitken,' 15 August, 1704, building account, NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerable the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken smith this from the first of Jan 1713 to the first of Jan 1714.'

1273 Alexander Eizatt, 'Acct of wright work at Hoptoun House from the 30th July to 22 Decr 1705 By Alexr Eizatt.'

1274 Lady Henrietta, 'Ane Comptt: booke.'

1275 *Ibid.*

1276 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 89.

1277 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 22.

1278 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 86; McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 22; Wemyss, *Noble Houses,* p. 112; McKean, *Scottish Château,* p. 240.

1279 Marshall, pp. 68-9.

1280 Dixon, from Fenton and Veitch, eds., pp. 89-90.

social spectra.[1281] The only group in Scotland that did not regularly consume ale was what Gibson and Smout labelled 'unsheltered workers.'[1282] These were hired labourers (such as farmhands) who were the most vulnerable to hunger (even starvation) if they were faced with unemployment or seasonal dearth.[1283] As such, their diet, consisting mainly of oats, was very inexpensive and unvaried.[1284] Otherwise, ale was a hugely important beverage to the diets of the wealthy and common alike. Ale was even part of the institutional diets of soldiers, paupers, servants, and students during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1285] Meanwhile, the servants at Hamilton Palace received one pint of ale per day as part of their daily rations.[1286] Hopetoun's servants were also given ale.[1287]

Lady Henrietta's diet book also makes it clear that the family drank ale with their meals.[1288] In fact, ale appears more frequently than wine (the beverage of choice for the wealthy) in her accounts; this was clearly the aristocratic version of economising.[1289] From a sociological standpoint, Hopetoun's brewhouse and its product were a manifestation of local everyday culture. It is clear that Hopetoun's brewhouse was like the kitchen and the bakehouse in that it held an important position in sustaining the household. There is not much documentation regarding the brewhouse's construction, so it is hard to pinpoint when this office house began to serve its purpose. The earliest record of the brewhouse in the building accounts is from 1703 when Joseph Forester installed a twelve ell (approximately 36 foot) 'small Pipe to the brew house.'[1290] While the purpose of this pipe remains unclear, the brewhouse appears to have been reaching completion by that date. Although further construction work was carried out at the

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1281 Fenton, *Scottish Country Life,* pp. 166-7; Steven, pp. 14, 20-1.
1282 Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages,* p. 242.
1283 *Ibid.*
1284 *Ibid.*
1285 Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages,* p. 235.
1286 Marshall, p. 77.
1287 Lady Henrietta, 'Ane Comptt: booke.'
1288 *Ibid.*
1289 *Ibid.*
1290 Unknown Writer (Joseph Forester?), 'Delivd an accompt'; Unknown Writer (Joseph Forester?), 'An accompt of Lead Work.'

brewhouse in 1707, it was related to maintenance.[1291] It is likely—especially given the fact that Lady Henrietta records the household consuming ale in 1705—that the brewhouse came into use between 1703 and 1705. The question remains as to where Hopetoun's brewhouse may have been located.

Once again, Kinross House can provide some answers. John Lowrey points out that the brewhouse was situated around the north quadrant alongside the kitchen court (see *Figure 10.4*).[1292] It was in the vicinity of the main house but would have been invisible to the naked eye. As this chapter has explored extensively, the introduction of formal planning to Scotland during the seventeenth century created new standards for the arrangement of offices and service areas at country houses.[1293] Hopetoun's brewhouse was likely situated similarly to Kinross's: hidden from plain view but in the same vicinity as the kitchen garden or kitchen court. Since the bakehouse used essentially the same ingredients as the brewery (minus hops), it is likely that they were located near one another and that they shared the same storage space. Furthermore, since there is no record of an individual master baker, the brewer likely managed both the brewhouse and bakehouse.[1294] In any case, both were conveniently situated to provide the household with these everyday staples.

However, ale was still a perishable item (particularly before the development of modern bottling) and the household likely preferred the beverage to be as fresh as possible. It is likely that there would have been beer leftover with every batch. A secondary office house, the still house, existed to recycle any leftover beer. Bachope records installing a still as early

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1291 David Mather, 'Ane accomptt of Masson work wrought To the Earell of Hoptoun by David Mather at the Ayell and other works in the year 1707 as ffolloues'; William Aitken, 'Ane acompt of iron work for the right honourable the Eral of Hoptoun wroght & furnished by me William Aitken begun May 16 1707.'

1292 Lowrey, 'Practical Palladanism,' p. 163.

1293 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' pp. 30-2.

1294 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 88.

as 1704 and Mather installed a new still pot and furnace in 1707.[1295] The still house likely came into use between 1704 and 1707. Little else is known about Hopetoun's still house beyond this; its location is conjecture. It is possible that it was situated near the brewhouse. However, since distilling was and is a risky operation (stills can explode), the still house also could have been removed further away from Hopetoun's main areas of operation. Hopetoun was not alone in keeping a still house in this period. Glamis had one, for example.[1296] Nonetheless, still houses and whisky consumption were not as common as breweries and ale at this point in time. Since ale still dominated, Hopetoun would still have needed to keep large quantities of the beverage in storage.

iv. The Cellars, the Larder, and the Pantry

The cellars, the larder, and the pantry were all key storage spaces for food and drink at Hopetoun House. While cellars stored wine and ale, larders kept meat, dairy, and other such perishables; pantries were general food storage spaces.[1297] All three were common to country houses. Hamilton Palace, Thirlestane Castle, Gallery House, Invermay Castle, and House of the Binns all had at least one cellar.[1298] Newton Castle and Invermay Castle both had larders.[1299] House of the Binns and even a tenement on the Cowgate in Edinburgh both had pantries.[1300] Kinross had numerous food storage spaces, including a larder, a 'buttrie,' cellars and a bottling room, and a wine cellar (*Figure 11.11*). Because of the size of their households, large establishments required multiple storage spaces for food and beverage. Without modern refrigeration and storage technology, all three offices had to

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1295 Bachope, 'Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of Hoptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous'; David Mather, 'An acomptt of days wages wrought to the Earell of Hopetoun by David Mather and his men in the year 1707.'

1296 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 32;

1297 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 86.

1298 Marshall, pp. 69, 100; Wemyss, *Noble Houses,* p. 129; Dunbar and Davies, eds., pp. 296, 311; Carruthers, from Carruthers, eds., p. 86.

1299 McKean, 'Galleries, Girnels, Yards and the Woman House,' p. 22; Dunbar and Davies, eds., p. 311.

1300 Carruthers, 'The Kitchen,' from Carruthers, ed., p. 86; Dunbar and Davies, eds., p. 172.

be specially designed to keep in cool air. The most practical and common method at the end of the seventeenth century was to situate these spaces in the basement with vaulted ceilings.[1301] This was recommended by both Reid and Liger.[1302] Furthermore, Liger suggested that storage spaces be located on the north or west sides of the house to prevent them getting warmed by sunlight.[1303] He pointed out that plastering storage spaces would help prevent the infestation of vermin.[1304] This gives some insight into how Hopetoun's food storage spaces would have been designed.

(*Figure 11.11,* closeup of Alexander Edward's floor plan of Kinross's basement. Larder circled in red. "Buttrie" circled in yellow. Cellars and bottling room circled in green. Wine cellar circled in purple)

As mentioned above, Hopetoun's cellars and the larder were ordered by the building contract to be vaulted. Thus, they were both located in the basement alongside the kitchen and second table room. It can be safely assumed that the pantry was also located in the basement. Even though dry and preserved goods can better withstand higher temperatures, it is better (even today) to keep them in cooler environments. Furthermore, keeping the pantry alongside the rest of the food storage and preparation areas was simply a matter of practicality. After the building contract, the next mention of

1301 McKean, *Scottish Château,* p. 245.
1302 Reid, p. 1; Liger, p. 8.
1303 Liger, p. 8.
1304 *Ibid.*

the wine cellar in the building accounts is from 1703 when Forester installed a pipe to the wine cellar.[1305] Forester also recorded having installed a pipe to the pantry in this document.[1306] Finally, William Aitken crafted nails and basic metal objects for use in the larder in 1703.[1307] Based on this documentation, all three storage spaces were ready for use in or around 1703. What this and the numerous aforementioned office houses tell the modern reader is significant.

Conclusion

Hopetoun was built between 1699 and 1707. However, the final years of building activity consisted of finishing the exterior ornamentation, decorating the interior, and finalising the internal arrangement of the formal spaces. Indeed, it is become clear that the house became functional several years before the official endpoint of construction, which is reflected particularly in Lady Henrietta's 1705 diet book. This notion calls attention to the fact that, when a patron could afford to do so, construction of one's house was carried out as quickly as possible. It was a continual, rather than static, process. While the Hopes certainly did want to establish their socio-economic and socio-political headquarters, they wanted their country seat to be habitable and comfortable as early as possible. This humanises Hopetoun to a certain degree and reminds the modern reader of its dual identity. The office houses supported Hopetoun House and allowed it to function as an organised and illustrious aristocratic household. At the same time, they were pushed out of sight—either at a distance from the main house or beneath it. While this did serve functional purposes (such as keeping food storage and preparation areas cool or giving offices enough space to function properly), it also highlights the house's social stratification. There was a hierarchical divide between the family and its servants. Hopetoun was not the only

1305 Unknown Writer, 'Delivd an accompt to the Hond Charles Hope of Hopton June 6th 1703 for Lead Work done at Hopton house and there remains due to me upon balance of the same thirty four Pounds twelve shillings four Pence Sterling (£34.12s.4d).'

1306 *Ibid*.

1307 William Aitken, 'Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel Tho Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703.'

country seat to do this. In fact, it was part of a wider social phenomenon: the formalisation of the country house. This chapter has therefore given further insight into the history of construction, the arrangement of office houses around formal spaces in post-Restoration country houses, and the broader social history of country houses. This chapter is also the culmination of this dissertation's general thesis: how Bruce designed Hopetoun House to function on a practical level.

Chapter XII: Conclusion

One of the keys to this thesis was to examine how the Hope family made their money and gained public prominence: initially through the lead mines at Leadhillls in Lanarkshire and increasingly through agricultural holdings during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This industrial family with professional roots masterfully used their excess capital to increase the size of their estate, which was key to their entrance into Scotland's peerage. They understood that their climb up the social ladder dually relied upon their wealth and the size of their estate. As the third and fourth chapters examined, they very carefully managed the health and wealth of their estates. Without a good income, the Hopes would not have been able to afford to build their country seat in the first place—which was paramount to their becoming true aristocrats. In the decades following John Hope of Hopetoun's death in 1682, Lady Margaret Hope was responsible for the maintenance of the mining and agricultural sectors of the Hopes' estate. In addition, she also made sure to diversify their holdings and branch into other burgeoning industries like banking and international trade (although the Darien scheme ultimately failed). As the eighteenth century progressed, the First and Second Earls continued to innovate their estate. Their knowledge and understanding of industrial economics led them to become among Scotland's early improving families. It increased the income of their agricultural holdings by the third quarter of the eighteenth century; the First and Second Earls of Hopetoun were business-oriented aristocrats.

Such efforts reshaped the topography and makeup of their landholdings over the course of the eighteenth century. As the fifth chapter explored, one of the first known improved portions of their vast estate was none other than Abercorn, wherein Hopetoun was situated. This notion led to the realisation that Hopetoun's landscape extended well beyond its formal gardens: as John Lowrey pointed out in regards to Alloa in 2007, Hopetoun House was designed around the productive landscape of the estate. The Abercorn estate experienced the first stages of enclosure as early as 1700. The first areas to

be enclosed were the fields immediately to the southeast of the main house (bordering the south side of the outer courtyard) and the other parks surrounding the main house were gradually enclosed in the first decades of the eighteenth century. These fields were devoted to both arable and pastoral agriculture. In addition to the agricultural parks, Hopetoun contained numerous offices dedicated to the housing and care of animals, as well as to the processing and storage of grain. Although they were out of sight and a short distance from the main house, they were still in the vicinity of the outer courtyard and the office houses that directly supported the household. In short, the productivity of the estate played an important role in the design and construction of Hopetoun House. At the same time, Hopetoun House still had to befit the Hopes' status as aristocrats.

The design and organisation of Hopetoun's agricultural landscape was intertwined with those of the formal landscape, which was the subject of the seventh chapter. Hopetoun's formal gardens were designed in the French-style as *parterres* on the west side of the house and ornamental cherry gardens on the east side. Alexander Edward also planned the orientation of the avenues to extend into vistas that were locally significant both historically and culturally. As John Lowrey discussed in 2012, this (the 'Scottish Historical Landscape') was a significant motif of Edward's garden designs. This chapter also discussed how the formal landscape was designed to accommodate the aristocratic pastime of hunting. While it was determined that Hopetoun's deer parks were ornamental (in keeping with contemporary custom), Hopetoun possessed a kennel (which kept spaniels) and a hawk-house. As spaniels and hawks worked in tandem in hunting both land- and waterfowl, the First Earl surely participated in that sport. Since fowl could be hunted on agricultural fields, this further underscores the notion that the planning of formal and productive landscape was intertwined. Even still, because hunting was such a deeply important sport to the aristocracy, it was essential that Hopetoun's landscape be designed to accommodate it. Hunting had martial undertones from at least the Middle Ages and prowess in the sport was an essential symbol of noble masculinity. Hopetoun's formal

landscape presented the Hopes as accomplished peers from several points of view: while the gardens showcased their cosmopolitan taste and refinement, the hunting areas demonstrated their sporting athleticism. Hopetoun's formal landscape was particularly important because it was an introduction to the main house itself.

Much of the scholarship on Hopetoun House has heretofore focussed on its stylistic design rather than the above areas of study. As discussed in the extensive literature review in chapter two, Alistair Rowan, James Macaulay, Deborah Howard, Konrad Ottenheym, and John Lowrey have all debated the stylistic influences on Bruce's design for Hopetoun. Not only have they debated over the French influences (ranging from buildings built during Francis I's reign to ones built during Louis XIV's), but also whether Hopetoun derives from Serlio, Palladio, Dutch classicism, or even English classicism. Thereafter, this author made her own conclusions regarding the stylistic design of Bruce's Hopetoun in chapter three. While it is fairly certain that the main block was based on one of Serlio's floor plans from Book VI (first identified by Howard), there is an uncanny likeness between the unit that fronts the east façade and the Envelope built for Versailles by Le Vau in 1668-74. The uncanny resemblance between Hopetoun and Palladio's Villa Trissino and Villa Capra, and the general influence of Palladio's agricultural architecture, cannot be ignored. Hopetoun's floor plan is therefore very likely a blend of Serlian, Palladian, and Ludovican themes. Such a combination is perfectly possible due to two factors: Bruce was a very well-read and well-travelled architect; and the architecture of Louis XIV's court was the height of European fashion in this period. This allowed the Hopes' to quietly assert their aristocracy to visitors while living according to a modern aristocratic lifestyle.

The extravagance of the floor plan stands in stark contrast to the restrained classicism of the east and west façades, which appear to derive from theoretical (particularly Palladian), Dutch, and English sources. Most important, however, is the notion that Bruce used these international sources

in conjunction with his previous buildings—namely Kinross and Craigiehall—in designing Hopetoun. As Bruce travelled through both countries, neither is out of the realm of possibility. Furthermore, the Hopes conducted extensive business in the Netherlands. As both architect and patron would have been aware of the Dutch custom of quietly expressing wealth and status, the restrained classicism of Hopetoun's façades was used to communicate their (as yet low-ranking) aristocracy humbly. Hopetoun's design had to walk a delicate line. It absolutely conveyed the Hope family's magnificence and aristocracy through its gardens, its formal landscape, and the main house's floor plan. At the same time, it had to kowtow to the grand hierarchical scheme of the Scots peerage. As barons, the Hopes could not overstep the line too greatly. These themes were explored to a greater extent in the final four chapters of this dissertation.

The seventh chapter was comprised of a close analysis of Hopetoun's building contract, which was signed 29 December, 1698. Because none of Bruce's original drafts or models have been found, Hopetoun's building contract holds particular significance in that it describes Bruce's design for the main house in exacting detail. Consequently, it was possible to compare it to the east façade engraving and the extant west façade in order to detect any changes made to the design. What is immediately clear is the fact that the contract continually references both Kinross and Craigiehall as sources of inspiration for Hopetoun's design; this corroborates with the second chapter's theory. Furthermore, it was determined that the fenestration of the principle storeys, the porticos, and the pediments matched the contract's descriptions. This exercise also affirmed previously identified discrepancies between the contract and the executed building: the pavilions, the main block (including the basement), and the office houses were all enlarged at some point after the contract was signed. It is also possible that the east façade was constructed with channelled rustication rather than ashlar stone and that the cupola was built in the Corinthian order rather than the prescribed Ionic. In short, the design described by the contract was not set in stone but was open to later changes. The question remained as to when these changes occurred.

The eighth chapter revised the timeline of Hopetoun's construction that was originally put forth by Alistair Rowan in 1984. He theorised that the house was initially built between 1699 and 1702, based on Colen Campbell's description of Hopetoun, and that further work was carried out after 1706. However, the revised timeline put forth the notion that Hopetoun was constructed between 1699 and 1707 (alongside the offices and the development of the landscape). The earliest building account available in Hopetoun's archives dates to late 1701, which was nearly three years after the house's construction began. This document detailed changes made to the initial structure, including the enlargement of the pavilions and office houses. In addition, a steady stream of receipts of discharge makes it clear that Lady Margaret paid craftsmen for their work between 1699 and 1700. As such, it is reasonable to suggest that the house was first built according to the design described by the contract and that some changes (which match some of the aforementioned discrepancies) were made to the house early in its construction. The structural aspects of the house were likely completed by 1704 and the ornamentation was completed between 1705 and 1707. Thereafter, focus shifted to the renovations of Abercorn Kirk, maintenance of the estate, and the construction of a few more offices. Not only did this chapter put to rest some concerns over how the house originally looked (it seems to have matched the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving), it also shows that the house was habitable within the first few years of the eighteenth century. The question remained as to how the house functioned on a day to day basis.

The ninth chapter examined the baroque plan of Hopetoun's main house. On a micro-historical level, this chapter has narrowed down the exact layout of Bruce's Hopetoun House. On a broader historical level, this chapter examined the application of the highly fashionable baroque floor plan to the country seat of a newly titled—yet extremely wealthy—Scottish family. The introductory section of the main house began with the inner courtyard, which was bordered by the stables, terrace, and colonnades. While these structures

shielded the offices from plain view, they were also designed with classical ornamentation in order to frame the main house properly. The next stage in the formal procession was the portico and entrance hall, which acted as a general reception room for visitors. Those who were of adequate rank and who had some degree of intimacy with the family were permitted to progress to the great dining room, or *salon.* Hopetoun copied Kinross in that its great dining room was located on the second storey above the entrance hall. Because the main staircase was officially part of the formal procession, it was lavishly constructed and ornamented. Even though the exterior of Hopetoun was constructed in a restrained form of classicism, its floor plan and interior décor clearly followed the most popular aristocratic layouts of the period. The introductory spaces of the house announced the Hopes as wealthy, cosmopolitan peers.

The fact that the main house also contained a state apartment only further underscores this notion. This chapter pointed out that the state apartment could have been on the first or the second floor. It has long been held by historians that the state apartment was located on the first floor on the north side of the central axis. Due to the size of the room leading off the entrance hall, it very well could have acted as the state dining room, with withdrawing room, bedchamber, and closets occupying the rest of the north side. However, it also makes sense that the state apartment was originally on the second floor leading off the *salon.* Indeed, the withdrawing room, antechamber, bedchamber, and closets would have fit perfectly along the central axis of the second floor. It also would have raised the state apartment physically and symbolically above the family apartments. Whatever the case, Hopetoun was a clear assertion of aristocratic status. Its ostentation was tempered, however, by the 37 Tideman paintings, each containing a moralising classical story or allegory. Six of these paintings were located in Lord and Lady Hopetoun’s apartments, which was a clever way of displaying humility to visitors.

Although Lord Hopetoun's apartment was always located in the southwest corner of the main block in the Bruce house, the location of Lady Hopetoun's changed. It first occupied the southeast corner of the house but shifted to the south pavilion between 1704 and 1706. Lady Henrietta may have wanted more privacy; the layout of the house perhaps had to shift to accommodate a growing number of children; perhaps Lord and Lady Hopetoun wanted to complete the baroque procession leading up to his apartment with a private dining room. Whatever the case, this shift in location humanises Hopetoun in that it demonstrates that baroque floor plans were flexible to the needs and desires of the owners. Formal, baroque plans were not uniform and were instead adaptable.

Not only does this concept appear through the shift in location of Lady Henrietta's apartment, it also has been made apparent in the numerous offices required to support the household's everyday needs. All of these offices were constructed and completed about the same time as the main house. Although some (such as the wash-house, woman-house, or nursery) were used for a variety of purposes, most were devoted to the preparation and storage of food and drink. Since Hopetoun's household would have been quite large (especially with as many children as the First Earl and Countess of Hopetoun had), cooking, brewing, and distilling would have all been constant activities. The formal spaces had to be supported by offices. Therefore, architects had to weigh the balance between the two. Clearly, Hopetoun House was much more than the architectural engravings that appear in *Vitruvius Britannicus* because it was occupied by real, breathing people.

And this, overall, is the material point of this dissertation: to examine how a country seat rooted in architectural theory was also designed to accommodate the everyday needs of an aristocratic family. Their needs, of course, were not the same as a cottar's; they were not concerned with basic survival. Instead, they required a house that showcased their prestige to visitors because they wanted to climb up the social ladder further; their

continued rise was impossible without a country seat. The house's appearance, layout, and formal landscape had to present the Hopes as *bona fide* aristocrats—not industrial *nouveaux riches*. This concept shines through particularly well through the hunting portions of the landscape and the house's baroque floor plan. At the same time, they needed to ensure that the estate still made a good income to safeguard their status, which is why so much focus of the estate was devoted to agriculture and improvement. The functional portions of the landscape were designed around the ornamental and formal areas of the landscape. They were key to the family's socio-economic and political survival but also had to appear to maintain their status effortlessly. On a similar note, the functional areas of the main house had to be designed around the formal layout: it was considered crass for the intense labour that it took to maintain a country house to be visible to visitors. However, the house could not run without these offices. Politics, economics, social customs, and basic human needs all combined to create Hopetoun House.

This thesis has reaffirmed Lowrey's theory that Bruce drew from Palladio in designing country houses to fit an agricultural landscape. Bruce also clearly had a keen understanding of the important architectural treatises (both French and Italian), classical theory, and contemporary court fashions of the period. As an example of Bruce's ingenious and innovative mind, it also seems as if Bruce experimented with hydraulics to engineer a more sanitary water system at Hopetoun. However, more research needs to be done in this area. In short, this thesis has established a deeper understanding of Bruce's genius as an architect. Sir William Bruce was not only concerned with architectural theory, of which he clearly had deep knowledge. He also did not just take the modern, luxurious lifestyle into account: he combined the two at Hopetoun. He also ensured that the surrounding estate could function from an agricultural perspective. This is what made Bruce the brilliant architect that he was: he endeavoured to take everything—practical and aesthetic—into account in designing or renovating country houses. Hopetoun House was clearly the culmination of Bruce's long

career of updating ancient Scottish country houses and building new ones. It is undoubted that in-depth studies of his other country houses would achieve a similar outcome. This methodology can also be applied to country houses across Britain. The question remains as to what else this thesis has accomplished.

It is undoubted that once the construction of Hopetoun House began in 1699 that it dominated Abercorn Parish and the surrounding region. Not only was Hopetoun the socio-political centre of an ambitious family, it became an early experimental site of agricultural improvement. This required enclosing land, consolidating farms, lengthening tenant leases, and modernising agricultural techniques. While this displaced and impoverished many tenants, it also improved arable and pastoral farmland; famines became fewer and farms became more profitable. Improvement eventually took hold of the entire region. Indeed, agricultural improvement was not a sudden phenomenon (which is why the term Agricultural Revolution is not entirely appropriate): it was a slow-burning, gradual process that evolved over the course of the long-eighteenth century. Just because Hopetoun was not as revolutionary as Ormiston (which actually bankrupted its investor, John Cockburn), this does not discredit its significance within the realm of Scottish agricultural improvement. This thesis has opened up the field to question the social impact of country house architecture. How did the construction of country houses impact local communities? How did the agricultural improvement of estates affect local communities? How did these phenomena drive cultural, economic, and political shifts on a local, regional, national, and even international levels?

Abercorn was far and away not the Hopes' only landholding. A comprehensive study is needed that examines the pre- and post-improvement income of every one of the Hopes' landholdings. This, of course, would establish more concrete statistics of the Hopes' income over the course of the long eighteenth century. More importantly, it would also determine in which areas of Scotland the Hopes owned land and which areas

they were responsible for improving. Only then would it be possible to examine the impact the Hopes' enterprises had on the local agricultural economy and, consequently, the national agricultural economy. Was their impact positive? How did they affect the landscape and the environment?

Hopetoun is also significant in that it was the headquarters for the Hopes' mining business at Leadhills. The Hopes traded Leadhills-based lead both domestically and internationally: not only did this trade enrich the Hope family and fund the construction of Hopetoun House, it was an important non-agricultural employer. Based on the special taxes granted by the Crown (from Charles II to George III), it was clearly recognised as important to both the Scottish and subsequently British economies. What were the profits earned by Leadhills during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries? What impact did it have on the local community? On the national economy? With whom did the Hopes trade beyond what has already been studied here? As one of Scotland's few domestic industries during the long eighteenth entury, this is a severely understudied topic. A considerable amount of scholarship has been published in the last decade that shows an increasing interest in the role that Scotland played in the global economy and the British empire during the long eighteenth century. This is the perfect timing for a close study of Leadhills.

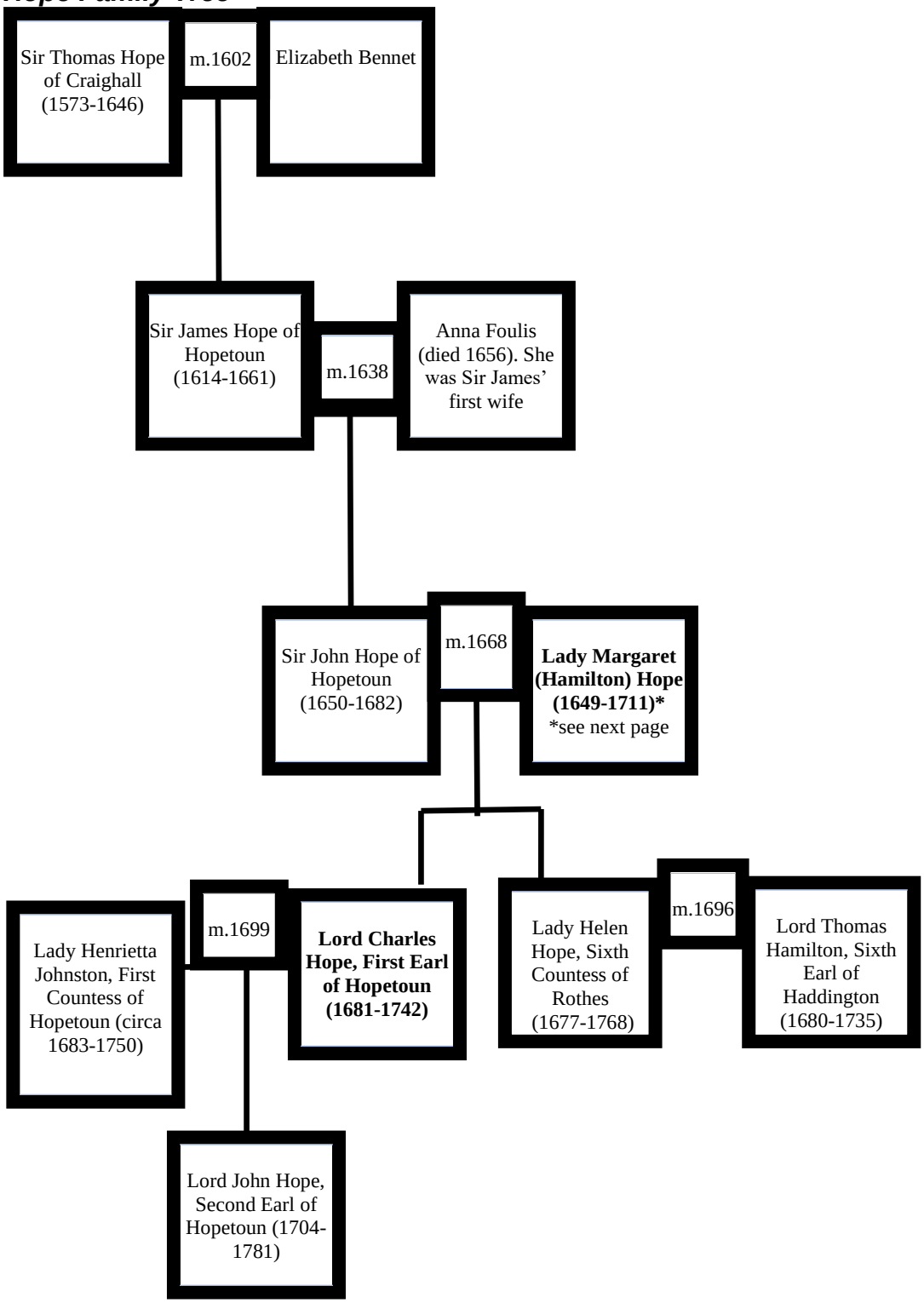
In short, this thesis opens up the field of post-Restoration British historiography to a number of new avenues of research. It is undeniable that these houses were built to flaunt the wealth and status of their owners. Theory and décor were key to this endeavour. However, as the literature review so carefully argued, country houses were more complex than that. They were lived-in spaces experienced by real, breathing people. These people were the owners, their families, and their servants. Country houses had to be built to accommodate all of them. Furthermore, classicism had be adapted from a Mediterranean to a Scottish climate: theory alone was not going to serve a country house's inhabitants. Some of these country houses were suburban retreats, like Craigiehall, many others were the seats of vasts

estates, like Hopetoun. The landscape had to be carefully designed to allow agricultural workers to work and live, as well. Country houses simultaneously affirmed the owners' status and permanently affected the countryside. The furtherance of this field is dependent on the acknowledgement of the human side of country houses.

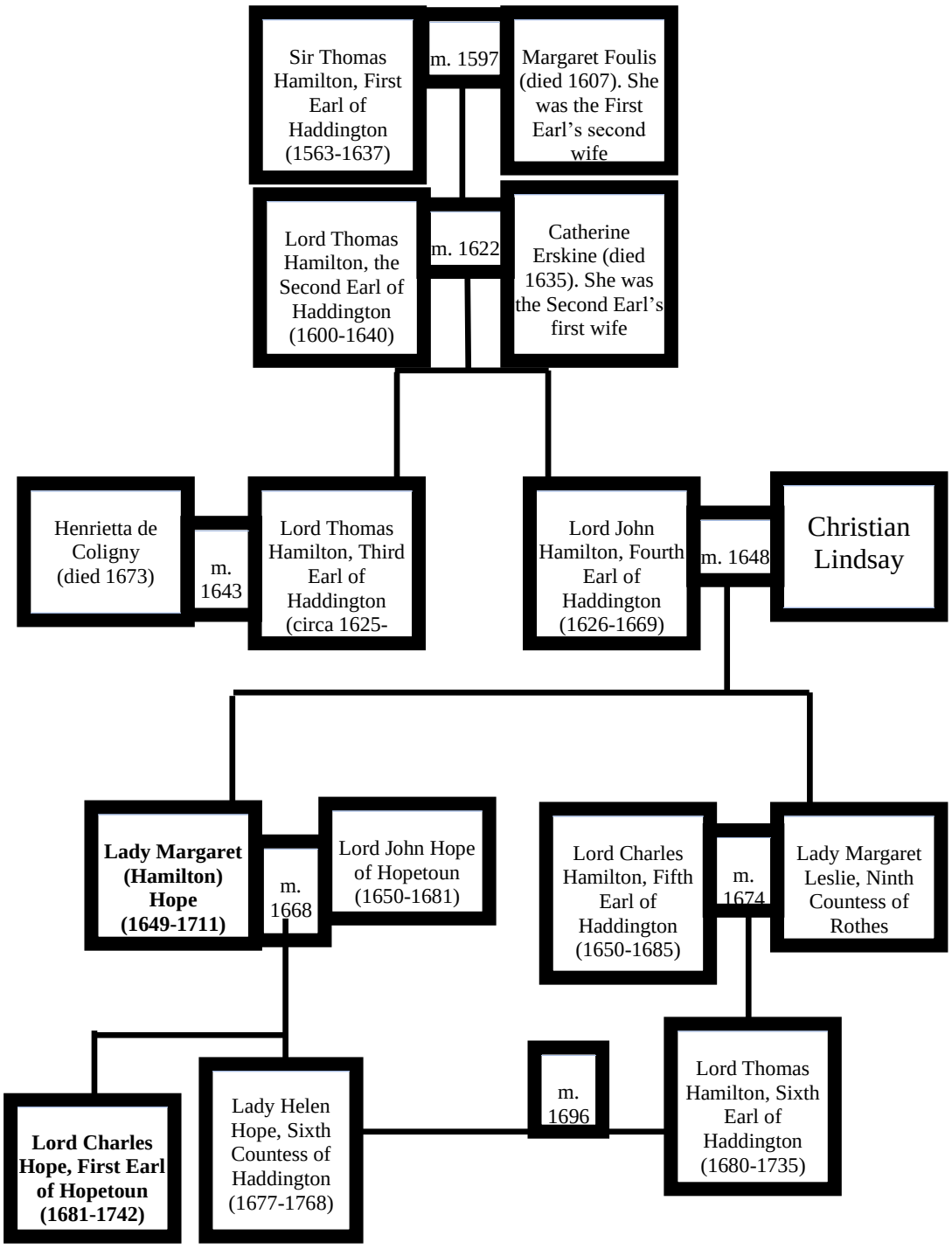
Appendix A:
Guide to the Histories of the Hope and Haddington Families

Partial Family Trees of the Hope and Hamilton Families
Note: only the relatives most relevant to this study have been included.

Hope Family Tree



Hamilton Family Tree


Sir Thomas Hamilton, First Earl of Haddington (1563-1637)
m. 1597
Margaret Foulis (died 1607). She was the First Earl's second wife
Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Second Earl of Haddington (1600-1640)
m. 1622
Catherine Erskine (died 1635). She was the Second Earl's first wife
Henrietta de Coligny (died 1673)
m. 1643
Lord Thomas Hamilton, Third Earl of Haddington (circa 1625-
Lord John Hamilton, Fourth Earl of Haddington (1626-1669)
m. 1648
Christian Lindsay
Lady Margaret (Hamilton) Hope (1649-1711)
m. 1668
Lord John Hope of Hopetoun (1650-1681)
Lord Charles Hamilton, Fifth Earl of Haddington (1650-1685)
m. 1674
Lady Margaret Leslie, Ninth Countess of Rothes
Lord Charles Hope, First Earl of Hopetoun (1681-1742)
Lady Helen Hope, Sixth Countess of Haddington (1677-1768)
m. 1696
Lord Thomas Hamilton, Sixth Earl of Haddington (1680-1735)

Partial Family Members Guide
Members of the Hope Family

Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall (1573-1646)

 [1308]

Sir Thomas Hope was born in 1573 to Henry Hope, an Edinburgh merchant, and Jacqueline de Tott (or de Jott) in 1573, both of whom are believed to have escaped to Scotland after witnessing the bloodshed of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris.[1309] Sir Thomas graduated from Edinburgh University in 1592 with a master of arts and became an advocate.[1310] He served his cousin, John Nicolson of Lasswade, writer in Edinburgh, and was also appointed to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1600, where he acted as solicitor and advocate for the Church.[1311] He was then admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburg in 1605. Sir Thomas began to experience momentous success (financially and publicly) after taking part in a controversial trial in 1606, wherein he was responsible for the defense of six ministers charged with treason for refusing

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1308 George Jamesone, 'Portrait of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall,' circa 1627, oil on canvas, 123.2x94cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK (not on display), from *National Galleries of Scotland*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-a-z/j/artist/george-jamesone/object/sir-thomas-hope-d-1646-lord-advocate-of-scotland-pg-953 (accessed 1 November, 2016).

1309 David Stevenson, 'Hope, Sir Thomas, of Craighall,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/13736?docPos=2 (accessed 20 October, 2016).

1310 *Ibid.*

1311 *Ibid.*

to acknowledge the power of the Scottish privy council over the Church.[1312] Though unsuccessful, Sir Thomas gained a reputation for his boldness. Upon the ascension of Charles I to the throne in 1625, Sir Thomas was also to be one of the new king's principal Scottish servants.[1313] He was first given a role to revoke grants of church property to the country's subjects, under Charles I's orders.[1314] Sir Thomas was then appointed as joint lord advocate in 1626 (alongside William Oliphant) in 1626, as well as the Scottish privy council in 1628; he was made the Baronet of Nova Scotia that same year.[1315]

Some trouble came with his support of William Grahame.[1316] With his help, Grahame was appointed the president of the Scottish council in 1628; he also managed to seize the ancient earldom of Stratherne.[1317] The latter socio-political move came to be seen as an attempt at the throne, and Grahame was subsequently disgraced and stripped of his offices and title.[1318] Sir Thomas managed to weather this political storm, and even aided Grahame in reconciling with the king.[1319] Further trouble came for Sir Thomas because he 'played leading roles in enforcing all the main policies—the revocation, religious reform, and the suppression of aristocratic dissent—which were central to the alienation of Scotland's landowners from the crown.'[1320] Sir Thomas was a paradoxical figure in contemporaneous political events. Though he protected the Crown's interests, he was also sympathetic to the Church of Scotland's government and the religious concerns of the Scottish people.[1321] Although he helped implement the common prayer book in Scotland in 1637, he quietly dissented from its enforcement thereafter.[1322] He did not sign the National Covenant in 1638, but did use his legal prowess to try and undermine the king's religious regulations of Scotland and the Marquess of Hamilton's zealous fight for Charles I's dominance of the Scottish Church.[1323] Sir Thomas supported the new king's covenant as a legally plausible compromise while refuting the king's religious objectives.[1324] Although Sir Thomas managed to maintain his offices because they had been ratified by parliament (much to the king's and Hamilton's fury), he managed to lose them 1640 after which he was banished to Craighall.[1325] He felt he acted as a civil servant and that he had obeyed Divine orders. However, he was perceived as a traitor from within the government.[1326] He briefly held an office that would try and reduce the powers of the Crown, but

1312 *Ibid.*
1313 *Ibid.*
1314 *Ibid.*
1315 *Ibid.*
1316 *Ibid.*
1317 *Ibid.*
1318 *Ibid.*
1319 *Ibid.*
1320 *Ibid.*
1321 *Ibid.*
1322 *Ibid.*
1323 *Ibid.*
1324 *Ibid.*
1325 *Ibid.*
1326 *Ibid.*

also lost that.[1327] Sir Thomas had been supportive of royal authority, but was a damaging force to the Crown from 1637-1643.[1328] He acted on the king's orders in person, while privately expressing religious and political frustration on paper.[1329] He also supported the Covenanters in regards to the law; this was clearly a man conflicted by his loyalties. After losing his last office, he devoted his remaining years to the promotion and advancement of his family.[1330]

Sir Thomas married Elizabeth Bennet in 1602, and they had fourteen children: Sir John of Craighall (1603/5-1654); Elizabeth (b. 1603, died young); Sir Thomas of Kerse and Wester Granton (1606-1643); William (b. 1608, died young); Henry (b. 1609, died young); Sir Alexander of Granton (1611-1680); Sir James of Hopetoun (1614-1661); David (b. 1615, died young); Patrick (b. 1617, died young); Margaret (b. 1618, died young); Mary (1620-?); Elizabeth (b. 1623, died unmarried); Anne (1625-before 1655); and Charles (b. 1627, died young).[1331] Throughout his political career, Sir Thomas was also an industrious academic. His major accomplishments include writing *Minor Practicks* (a treatise on Scots law) and translating the Psalms and Song of Solomon into Latin.[1332] Thanks to his lucrative legal career, he also managed to establish a large estate. He bought; land in Edmonton and Caldecottes in the regality of Musselburgh in 1612; land in Prestongrange, county Haddington in 1616; Kinninmounth in Craighall, county Fife, in 1619; and lands in Western Granton in 1620.[1333] Upon expanding his property in Craighall, he established his barony there and built Craighall Castle in 1637 (see photograph below).[1334] This was quite a socio-political and economic rise for the son of an Edinburgh merchant and it is Sir Thomas Hope who is responsible for the subsequent rise of the Hope family.

1327 *Ibid.*

1328 *Ibid.*

1329 *Ibid.*

1330 *Ibid.*

1331 Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms, ed., *The Scots Peerage: Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of That Kingdom,* volume IV (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904), pp. 489-91, http://www.electricscotland.com/books/pdf/ScotsPeerageVol4.pdf.

1332 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 489.

1333 Balfour Paul, v. IV, pp. 487-8.

1334 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 488*;* Designer Unknown, Craighall Castle, Ceres, Fife, b. 1637, from Unknown Photographer, *General View of Craighall Castle looking north. Digital Image of F/78,* 1930, SC 757546, RCAHMS, https://canmore.org.uk/file/image/757546 (accessed 21 October, 2016).

William Bruce, Craighall Castle, Ceres, Fife, b. 1637

Sir James Hope of Hopetoun (1614-1661)

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Sir James Hope of Hopetoun was the seventh Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall and Elizabeth Bennet's fourteen children; he was the youngest of

1335 Unknown Artist, 'Portrait of Sir James Hope of Hopetoun (1614-1661),' date unknown, medium unknown, measurements unknown, Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, UK, from: ArtUK, http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/sir-james-hope-of-hopetoun-16141661-lawyer-213413 (accessed 1 November, 2016).

six sons, and the fourth child to survive to adulthood.[1336] He entered Edinburgh University in 1632, graduating in 1635, and continued his studies in Orléans from 1636-7.[1337] With a great deal of help from his father, he was also made a judge of the Court of Session in 1632.[1338] His 1638 marriage to Anna Foulis, the heiress to Robert Foulis, a wealthy Edinburgh merchant and goldsmith, brought to his estate the Lanarkshire lead mines commonly known as Leadhills.[1339] As the cadet son of his family, this was an extremely advantageous match: his subsequent investments in various mining (of gold, silver, and especially lead), trading, shipping, and technological activities brought enormous wealth to him and his family.[1340] Some examples of these ventures include exporting immense quantities of lead ore to Holland, expanding the mines at Leadhills, and mending the highway leading from the mines in Lanarkshire to the port in Leith.[1341] It was thanks to his expertise in metals and contemporaneous technologies that he was appointed Master of the Mint in 1641 by the covenanting government; he was also knighted that year.[1342] Though Sir James was, indeed, an opportunistic entrepreneur, his interests were not limited to commercial activities.

As a deeply religious man, Sir James became very active in the covenanting revolution alongside his brother, Sir John of Craighall, during the 1640s.[1343] Between being appointed the office of Lord of Session in 1649, and having sat in Parliament for Stirling in 1649 and Lanarkshire in 1650, he had evolved into a political radical.[1344] From 1649, Sir James also opposed the treaty with Charles II, thinking it would lead to war with the English Republic; he instead focussed his energies on getting Charles II and the Marquess of Argyll to settle with the new London government.[1345] Argyll denounced Sir James as an enemy of the King and country in 1650.[1346] Nonetheless, both Sir John and Sir James became republicans and were ardent supporters of the British Commonwealth that came with Cromwell's rise to power in 1652.[1347] Sir James was appointed one of Cromwell's judges in May of 1652.[1348] After having sat as the left opposition in the Whiggamore Parliament of 1649, Scotland's most radical parliament to date, Sir James

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1336 Arthur H. Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James, of Hopetoun,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/13722/?back=,13728 (accessed 20 October, 2016).

1337 *Ibid.*

1338 Stevenson, 'Hope, Sir Thomas, of Craighall,' *ODNB.*

1339 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB.*

1340 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 491.

1341 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB.*

1342 *Ibid.*

1343 *Ibid.*

1344 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 491.

1345 *Ibid.*

1346 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 491.

1347 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB.*

1348 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 491.

then sat in England's equivalent, the Barebones' Parliament of 1653.[1349] Sir James was also part of the administration of state in both countries having served on the Committee of State in Scotland and Council of State in England.[1350] He and Sir John made efforts to discuss with John Swinton of Swinton and the English major-generals, John Lambert and Richard Deane, the ways in which Scotland could be improved under the new regime; little came of these activities.[1351]

After Cromwell sought him as a member of the new "British" assembly that would replace the Long Parliament, Sir James caused a stir when he made a speech advocating for the readmission of Jews to the new British Commonwealth (seemingly with the desire for reconciliation before the apocalypse).[1352] Sir James then joined the council of state, making use of his unique legal expertise.[1353] Because he was the only Scot in the council, he effectively became the secretary of state of Scotland.[1354] Sir James clearly was very active in the administrative matters of the new Commonwealth, participating in matters of military supply, censorship, mental health, and other legal procedures.[1355] He also made steps to employ emergency measures to fix Scotland's economy and the resultant extreme poverty of its people; Sir James tried to make use of his high place in Cromwellian politics to better Scotland's condition.[1356] Sir James also thought that an Act of Union would be hugely beneficial in this regard.[1357] He ardently sought reform but failed to get re-elected to council of state in 1653 because of his radical beliefs.[1358] The subsequent dissolution of parliament that same year ended Sir James's public career; his confrontation of Cromwell led to his disgrace.[1359] Paired with his disillusionment with the British revolution, his radical ideals cooled and Sir James re-focussed his energies on his commercial and industrial ventures, as well as his family.[1360] He died in 1661 at the house of his elder brother, Alexander, in Granton after falling ill during a business trip to Holland.[1361]

As previously stated, Sir James married Anna Foulis in 1638, and their union produced eleven children; only two of them, including Sir John of Hopetoun, are certain to have survived to adulthood. Their children were: Thomas (1640-44); Elizabeth (b. 1642-?); Sarah (b. 1643-?); Robert (b. 1645, died young); Thomas (b. 1647, died young); James (1649); Sir John Hope of

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1349 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB.*
1350 *Ibid.*
1351 *Ibid.*
1352 *Ibid.*
1353 *Ibid.*
1354 *Ibid.*
1355 *Ibid.*
1356 *Ibid.*
1357 *Ibid.*
1358 *Ibid.*
1359 *Ibid.*
1360 *Ibid.*
1361 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB*; Balfour Paul, v. IV, pp. 491-2.

Hopetoun (1650-1682); George (b. 1654, died young); Alexander (b. 1656, died young); Anne (b. 1652-?); and Rachel (b. 1653, married 1669, death date unknown).[1362] After Anna Foulis's death in 1656, Sir James married Mary Keith, eldest daughter and co-heiress to William Keith, the Seventh Earl of Marischal.[1363] Their marriage produced just three children, with one surviving to adulthood: William (1658); Sir William Hope of Balcomie (1660-1724); Mary (b. 1662, died young). With a knighthood and increasingly extravagant wealth, it was Sir James Hope who took the title of Hopetoun, in reference to their presence at Leadhills.[1364] It was also Sir James's entrepreneurship and political savvy that helped further push the Hope family's place amongst the political and aristocratic echelons of Scottish society.

Sir John Hope of Hopetoun (1650-1682)

Born to Sir James Hope of Hopetoun and Anna Foulis in 1650, it was Sir John Hope who bought the barony at Abercorn that was to become the family's country seat of Hopetoun House.[1365] He married Lady Margaret Hamilton (1649-1711), the eldest daughter of the Fourth Earl of Haddington, in 1668; she brought to the marriage an 18,000 merk dowry.[1366] It was either he or Lady Margaret that commissioned the designs for a modern, French hôtel-style townhouse on the Cowgate from Claude Comiers in 1680.[1367] He died accompanying the Duke of York (later James VII and II) on the shipwreck of the *Gloucester* on 5 May, 1682 without having realised the erection of a modern town or country house.[1368] He was survived by two children: Lady Helen (Hope) Hamilton (1677-1768), who married Lord

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1362 Williamson, 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, pp. 492-3.

1363 Williamson 'Hope, Sir James,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 492.

1364 Balfour Paul, v. IV, pp. 492-93.

1365 Hopetoun House Preservation Trust (HHPT), 'A History of the Hope Family,' *Hopetoun: A Lasting Impression,* publication date unknown, http://www.hopetoun.co.uk/history-of-the-hope-family.html (accessed 10 July, 2015); Balfour Paul, p. 493.

1366 Unknown Writer, 'Marriage Contract, John Hope and Margaret Hamilton, 4 December [1668],' marriage contract for Sir John Hope and Lady Margaret Hamilton, 4 December, 1668, NRAS/888 Bundle 2644, HHPT; Balfour Paul, p. 493. It should be noted that as Lady Margaret Hamilton is the subject of the fourth chapter, this appendix does not include biography of her.

1367 Joe Rock, 'The Hopetoun Chest at Newhailes House,' *The Burlington Magazine* 129, no. 1013 (August, 1987): p. 518, http://www.jstor.org/stable/883102?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=the&searchText=hopetoun&searchText=chest&searchText=at&searchText=newhailes&searchText=house&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dthe%2Bhopetoun%2Bchest%2Bat%2Bnewhailes%2Bhouse%26amp%3Bacc%3Don%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3Bgroup%3Dnone&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents; Claude Comiers, 'L'Hostel d'Hopton: Joe Rock Schema of Original Design,' 1680, from Joe Rock, 'John Hope's House in Edinburgh, 1680,' *Joe Rock's Research Pages,* publication date unknown, https://sites.google.com/site/joerocksresearchpages/home/john-hope-s-house-in-edinburgh-1680 (accessed 22 March, 2016).

1368 Hoptoun House Preservation Trust, 'A History of the Hope Family'; Balfour Paul, p. 493.

Thomas Hamilton, the Sixth Earl of Haddington, in 1696; and Lord Charles Hope of Hopetoun (1681-1742), the First Earl of Hopetoun.[1369] Sir John Hope and Lady Margaret Hope also had three daughters (Margaret, Christian, and Anna) who died in infancy.[1370]

Lady Helen Hamilton, Countess of Haddington (1677-1768)

1371

Lady Helen Hamilton, born 1677, was the only daughter of Sir John Hope and Lady Margaret Hope (previously Hamilton). Lady Margaret arranged Lady Helen's marriage to her first cousin, Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Sixth Earl of Haddington (1680-1735).[1372] The couple first moved to Leslie House in Fife, where Lady Helen gave birth to their eldest child, Charles Hamilton, Lord Binning, in 1697.[1373] They then moved to the Haddington country seat, Tyninghame House in Haddingtonshire, in 1700.[1374] Upon their arrival, it was clear that the house had long been neglected and that its grounds had largely been deforested.[1375] Though Lord Thomas, an outdoorsman, had originally been uninterested in building and

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1369 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 493; T.F. Henderson, *rev.* Mairianna Birkeland 'Hope, Charles,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/13716 (accessed 20 October, 2016).

1370 John Hope, 'Ffollowes the bond of provision in favours of the Children,' bond of provision signed at Tynningham, 16 April, 1674, NRAS/888 Volume 336, HHPT; John Hope, 'Ffollowes the postscript on the back of the sd bond of provision in favors of Mrs Helena,' bond of provision postscript signed at Tynningham, 14 March, 1678, NRAS/888 Volume 336, HHPT.

1371 Sir John Baptist Medina, 'Portrait of Helen Hope, Countess of Haddington,' date unknown, oil on canvas, 127x101.6cm, private collection, from *Every Stock Photo*, http://www.everystockphoto.com/photo.php?imageId=19269285 (accessed 1 November, 2016).

1372 Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Hope, Helen,' in in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/70532/?back=,13716 (accessed 20 October, 2016).

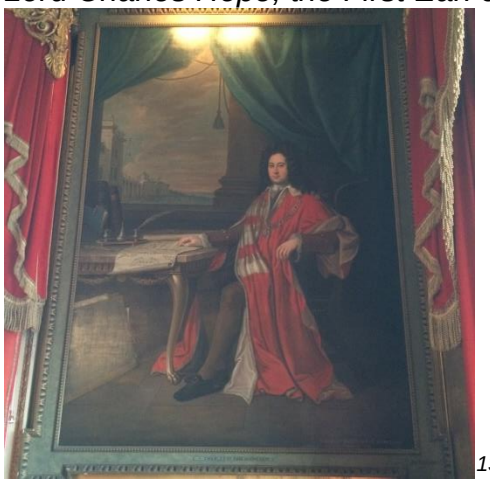
1373 Marshall, 'Hope, Helen,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 321.

1374 Marshall, 'Hope, Helen,' *ODNB.*

1375 *Ibid.*

landscaping, Lady Helen's influence ultimately won out.[1376] They both invested in planting a fashionable "wilderness" in the grounds surrounding Tyninghame House.[1377] They also enclosed the 300 acre Muir of Tyninghame and subsequently filled the once barren land with trees and walks; it was renamed Binning Wood.[1378] Their son, Charles, was followed by John (ca. 1700-72), Margaret (died unmarried in 1768), and Christian (a daughter, married 1725, died 1770).[1379] Lady Helen survived her husband by more than thirty years, dying at the age of 90 in 1768.[1380] She was buried at Tyninghame with her husband and mother.[1381]

Lord Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun (1681-1742)



1382

Lord Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun, was the son of Lord John Hope of Hopetoun and Lady Margaret Hope (previously Hamilton) and the younger brother of Lady Helen Hope. He was born in 1681, shortly before the death of his father. He was educated in Edinburgh, and continued on to Edinburgh University in 1692; he never graduated.[1383] He was elected a parliamentary commissioner for Linlithgowshire in 1702, and was made a Privy Councilor in 1703.[1384] That same year, he was made the First Earl of Hopetoun, and was given the additional titles of Viscount of Aithrie and Lord Hope.[1385] He then sat as a peer of Parliament in 1704.[1386] During this time, he was a zealous supporter of the Union.[1387] Lord Charles was then made a lord lieutenant of Linlithgowshire from 1715 to 1742 and was also made lord high commissioner to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland in

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1376 *Ibid.*
1377 *Ibid.*
1378 *Ibid.*
1379 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 321.
1380 Marshall, 'Hope, Helen,' *ODNB.*
1381 Marshall, 'Hope, Helen,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 493.
1382 Unknown Artist, 'Portrait of Charles Hope, First Earl of Hopetoun,' circa 1721-1742, medium unknown, size unknown, Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, UK, personal photo.
1383 Henderson, 'Hope, Charles,' *ODNB*.
1384 Henderson, 'Hope, Charles,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 493.
1385 *Ibid.*
1386 *Ibid.*
1387 *Ibid.*

1723.[1388] He was elected as a representative peer of Scotland from 1722 to his death in 1742, and was made a lord of police in 1734.[1389] He was then invested into the Order of the Thistle in 1738 and made a governor of the Bank of Scotland in 1740.[1390]

He married Lady Henrietta Johnstone, the only daughter of William, First Marquess of Annandale, in 1699.[1391] Their marriage produced four sons and nine daughters, nine of whom survived to adulthood: Margaret (1700, according to Balfour Paul, 1703, according to Lady Henrietta's own list); Sophia (1702-1761); Lord John Hope, the Second Earl of Hopetoun (1704-1781); Henrietta (1706-1745); Unnamed Son (22 July, 1707); Margaret (1708-1778); Charles Hope-Weir (1710-1791); Helen (1711-1778); Christian (daughter, 1714-1799); William (1715); Anne (1718-1727); Charlotte (1720-1788); Rachel (1721, died in infancy).[1392] He was responsible for the renovations of Hopetoun House under William Adam (commissioned in 1721). He died in 1742 and was buried at Abercorn Church, not far from his country seat of Hopetoun House.[1393]

Lady Henrietta (Johnston) Hope, First Countess of Hopetoun (1682-1750)

Lady Henrietta Hope was the daughter of William Johnstone, the First Marquess of Annandale. Upon his father's death in 1672, a young William Johnstone inherited an impressive estate of £41,757.8s Scots (approximately £3,480 sterling).[1394] He was educated in Glasgow, and even attended university there from 1677 (he never graduated).[1395] He had an active public life from the late 1680s when he was first made a member of James VII's Privy Council.[1396] Though he maintained a neutral position as best he could

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1388 Henderson, 'Hope, Charles,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 494.

1389 *Ibid.*

1390 George Drummond, writer, George II, signatory, 'Certificate of the First Earl's Entry into Order of the Thistle 1738,' 10 July, 1738, certificate of knighthood, NRAS/888 Bundle 2460, HHPT; Henderson, 'Hope, Charles,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 494.

1391 Unknown Writer, 'Marriage Contract between Charles Hope and Henrietta Johnstone, 21 August, 1699,' 21 August, 1699, marriage contract, NRAS/888 Bundle 2489, HHPT; Henderson, 'Hope, Charles,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 494.

1392 Lady Henrietta Hope, 'Ane Account of My Childrens Agess Charles Earl of Hoptoun dy'd 26 Febr 1742 in his 61st year Henrietta Countess of Hopetoun Dy'd 25 Novr 1750 in her 69th year,' circa 1699-1750, account of children, NRAS/888 Bundle 355, HHPT; Balfour Paul, v. IV, pp. 494-7; Henerson, ODNB.

1393 Henderson, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 494.

1394 Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms, ed., *The Scots Peerage: Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of That Kingdom,* volume I (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904), p. 264, http://www.electricscotland.com/books/pdf/ScotsPeerageVol1.pdf.

1395 Balfour Paul, v. I, p. 265.

1396 Duncan Adamson, 'Johnstone, William, first marquess of Annandale (1664–1721)', from *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14970 (accessed 22 Nov 2016); Balfour Paul, v. I, p. 265.

during the initial phase of the Glorious Revolution, he ran into trouble in his support of his brother-in-law, Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, and Lord Ross.[1397] In addition to proposing the establishment of a Presbyterian Church of Scotland, he also accompanied Montgomery and Ross to London in 1689 to offer William III proposals that would strengthen the Scottish Parliament.[1398] They then tried to convince parliament to reverse the ascension of William III and Mary II to the Crown in the hopes of a Jacobite restoration; they soon found they had little support.[1399] Annandale confessed his conspiratorial dealings in the hopes of saving his reputation, estate, and life; he was ultimately pardoned in 1690.[1400] His fortunes gradually turned around: from 1693-4, he was made an Extraordinary Lord Session, a Lord of Treasury, and then president of the Privy Council.[1401] He was then made the President of Parliament in 1695 and also invested £1,000 in the Darien scheme.[1402] Around the time of his daughter's marriage to Charles Hope, he was given the great honour of representing the monarch as High Commissioner at the general assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1701; as a political ally of Argyll, he acted in Presbyterian interest.[1403] He was made the First Marquess of Annandale not long thereafter.[1404]

Lord John Hope, the Second Earl of Hopetoun (1704-1781)

 [1405]

Lord John Hope, the Second Earl of Hopetoun, was born in 1704 to Lord Charles Hope, the First Earl of Hopetoun and Lady Henrietta Johnstone, the only daughter of William Johnstone, the First Marquess of Annandale. He

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1397 Adamson, 'Johnstone, William'; Balfour Paul, v. I, pp. 265-6.
1398 *Ibid.*
1399 Adamson, 'Johnstone, William'; Balfour Paul, v. I, p. 266.
1400 *Ibid.*
1401 *Ibid.*
1402 *Ibid.*
1403 *Ibid.*
1404 Adamson, 'Johnstone, William'; Balfour Paul, v. I, p. 267.
1405 William Hoare, 'Portrait of John Hope, Second Earl of Hopetoun,' date unknown, medium unknown, measurements unknown, from *The Peerage*, http://thepeerage.com/p2134.htm (accessed 1 November, 2016).

was made a Lord of Police, like his father, from 1744-1760. He was also the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1754. After his father died in 1742, it was up to Lord John to continue overseeing Hopetoun's renovations; though the structural and exterior work was completed in the late 1730s, work on the interior continued into the 1760s. He married three times, first in 1733 to Anne Ogilvy, second daughter of James, Earl of Findlander, at Cullen House.[1406] She died at Hopetoun House in 1759.[1407] Their marriage produced nine children, seven of whom survived to adulthood (although several of them died in their teens, early-twenties, and mid-twenties): Elizabeth (1736-1756); Henrietta (1738); Charles (1740-1766); Lord James Hope, the Third Earl of Hopetoun (1741-1816); John (1743-1759); Henrietta (1746-1786); William (1749-1750); Henry (1755-1776); and Sophia (1759-1813). His second marriage took place at Balgowan in 1762 to Jean, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie in Perthshire; she died at Glasgow in 1767.[1408] Together they had three children, two of whom survived to adulthood: Anne (1763-1780); Sir John Hope of Rankeillor, the Fourth Earl of Hopetoun; and Jean (1766-1829). His last marriage was to Elizabeth Leslie, the second daughter of Alexander, Earl of Leven and Melville, which took place at Gayfield in 1767; their marriage lasted until his death in 1781.[1409] They had six children, all of whom survived to adulthood: Charles of Waughton (1768-1828); Elizabeth (Charles's twin, 1768-1801); Alexander (1769-1837); Charlotte (1771-1834); Margaret (1772-1831); Mary Anne (1773-1838).

<u>Members of the Hamilton Family</u>
Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning, First Earl of Haddington (1563-1637)

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1406 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 497.
1407 *Ibid.*
1408 *Ibid.*
1409 *Ibid.*
1410 After A. de Colone, 'Portrait of Lord Thomas Hamilton, First Earl of Haddington,' circa 1624, oils, measurements unknown, from *The National Galleries of Scotland*,

Lord Thomas Hamilton was born in 1563, the first and only child of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield and his first wife, Elizabeth Heriot.[1411] Hamilton was first educated at the High School of Edinburgh, and continued onto the University of Paris from 1581-87.[1412] His uncle, John Hamilton, scholar and Catholic priest, became rector at the University of Paris in 1584; Lord Thomas Hamilton himself remained protestant.[1413] He returned to Scotland and was made an advocate in Edinburgh in 1587.[1414] In 1592, he was first appointed to a parliamentary committee that would prepare new printed editions of the acts of parliament and was then made an ordinary lord of session (one of fifteen permanent, salaried judges of the Court of Session) under the title of Lord Drumcairn.[1415] He was to retain a seat on this bench until 1626.[1416] With titled status, Lord Thomas Hamilton experienced a swift rise in Edinburgh's political milieu. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1593, becoming a regular councillor in 1596; he also became a member of the queen's financial council that same year.[1417] Just a few years later in 1596, Lord Thomas Hamilton was admitted as a member of the elite group of reforming financial administrators, the Octavians.[1418] Not only were the members of this group appointed as joint commissioners of the exchequer, they were also given full power over the royal revenues.[1419] So great was their power that they had started monopolising the offices of state amongst themselves, Lord Thomas Hamilton seizing the office of Lord Advocate that same year.[1420] Though most likely not Catholic, he determinedly upheld the Crown's power over the Church, infuriating Presbyterian radicals.[1421]

Nonetheless, Lord Thomas Hamilton's foray into financial matters of state was brief. Thomas Foulis (ca. 1560-1628)—the brother of Lord Thomas Hamilton's second wife, Margaret—was a banker and financial manager to the Crown.[1422] Though Foulis was an important contact for Hamilton, once the Octavians had been formed, they tried to oust Foulis.[1423] Despite their political mischief, Foulis managed to maintain his influence while also

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https://art.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/2644/thomas-hamilton-1st-earl-haddington-1563-1637-advocate-and-statesman-after-1630?sitters[16580]=16580&search_set_offset=1 (accessed 1 November, 2016).

1411 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 309; Julian Goodare, 'Hamilton Thomas, earl of Melrose and first earl of Haddington (1563-1637),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/12126/?back=,12127 (accessed 27 October, 2016).

1412 *Ibid.*

1413 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB.*

1414 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 309.

1415 *Ibid.*

1416 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB.*

1417 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB*; Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 310.

1418 *Ibid.*

1419 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB.*

1420 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 310.

1421 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB.*

1422 Goodare, 'Thomas Hamilton,' *ODNB.*

1423 *Ibid.*

becoming the customs collector.[1424] Just months later, in December 1597, Foulis became the sole manager of all royal finances.[1425] Just as quickly as he gained this position, he lost it even quicker just weeks later in January, 1598 after an Octavian, John Lindsay of Balcarres, contrived a bankruptcy of the royal revenues.[1426] This ultimately led to the dissolution of the Octavians, as well.[1427] Hamilton's connection to Thomas Foulis is significant for other reasons beyond the realms of politics.

Thomas Foulis had two sons by his first wife, Jean Francis: Thomas (died 1612) and David Foulis of Glendorch. [1428] He then had three daughters by his second wife, Elizabeth Baillie: Margaret, Jean, and another (name unknown).[1429] Thomas Foulis also possessed the mines of Leadhills in Larnarkshire and devoted himself to their mining and management following his loss of offices in 1598.[1430] This was not the branch, however, that would ultimately thrive from the literal goldmine that was Leadhills. Though David Foulis had tried to claim these mines as his inheritance following his father's death in 1628, they had already been assigned to his nephew, Robert Foulis, advocate.[1431] His daughter, Anna, managed to keep them with the aid of defence in court of her advocate and husband, James Hope.[1432] As discussed in Sir James's biography, this acquisition was essential to the explosion in wealth of the Hope family. Even though the Hope family was not directly related to the Earls of Haddington through the Foulises, this connection is nonetheless uncanny and signifies how closely interconnected Edinburgh's political circles were in the seventeenth-century—which is particularly striking given that this period witnessed the rise of many of professional status into the aristocracy under James VI and Charles I.

Returning to Lord Thomas Hamilton, that he had been a supporter and ally of Foulis (undoubtedly seeing opportunity in such a connection) most likely left him rattled or threatened by the turn of events.[1433] Though the Octavians were dissolved in 1597, Hamilton did manage to keep his office as Lord Advocate. [1434] However, he always stayed within the realms of law and administration, never returning to financial matters.[1435] This period saw an increase number of people brought to court for matters without a traditional

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1424 *Ibid.*

1425 *Ibid.*

1426 *Ibid.*

1427 *Ibid.*

1428 Julian Goodare, 'Thomas Foulis and the Scottish Fiscal Crisis of the 1590s,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/73674/?back=,12127,12126 (accessed 27 October, 2016).

1429 *Ibid.*

1430 *Ibid.*

1431 *Ibid.*

1432 *Ibid.*

1433 *Ibid.*

1434 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 310.

1435 *Ibid.*

injured party that were also ecclesiastical offences (such as adultery, incest, witchcraft, hearing of mass, harbouring Jesuits, usury, and forestalling of markets).[1436] Because the Church courts also had a role in prosecuting cases of this type, some of which led to the death penalty, Hamilton recognised that the Church threatened to interfere with secular, criminal courts.[1437] Hamilton and the Privy Council carefully orchestrated cases of this kind that popped up during the 1590s and 1600s to restrict ecclesiastical jurisdiction and reinforced the primacy of the criminal courts.[1438] Following James VI's ascension to the English throne as James I in 1603, and his consequential departure from Edinburgh to London, Hamilton's power as Lord Advocate greatly increased.[1439]

Hamilton was also part of a Parliamentary Commission in 1604 that attempted to orchestrate with English commissioners a union between Scotland and England (of course, to no avail).[1440] He was also knighted in that same year.[1441] In 1606, he helped prosecute the six dissident ministers who were charged with treason—the very same six ministers that Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall ardently defended.[1442] After sixteen years as Lord Advocate, Hamilton was promoted to Lord Clerk Register in April of 1612 and exchanged it just two months later with Sir Alexander Hay for his seat as Secretary of State.[1443] After his second wife, Margaret, died in 1609, he married the widow of Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, Julian Kerr; she was also the sister of the royal favourite, Robert Kerr, the Earl of Somerset.[1444] Such a court connection proved very fortuitous, as he was given the title of Lord Binning and made a Lord of Parliament in 1613.[1445] He was then made the Lord President of the Court of Session in 1616; through all of these political advancements, he maintained his post as Secretary of State.[1446] He attended James VI during his visit to Scotland in 1617 (and even went so far as taking kneeling communion in the English fashion on Whitsunday) and perhaps entertained him at his mansion on the Cowgate.[1447] After taking part in a royal commission that tried to push forward five articles pertaining to church ceremonies and worship in 1617, a visit to London in 1618, Hamilton was then raised again in the peerage with the new title of Earl of Melrose, Lord Byres and Binning.[1448]

1436 Goodare, *ODNB.*
1437 *Ibid.*
1438 *Ibid.*
1439 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 310.
1440 *Ibid*.
1441 *Ibid.*
1442 Goodare, *ODNB.*
1443 Goodare, *ODNB*; Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 310.
1444 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, pp. 310, 313-4.
1445 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 310.
1446 *Ibid.*
1447 *Ibid.*
1448 *Ibid.*

Hamilton remained a staunch supporter of the primacy of the Crown over the Church, giving him good allies in the bishops.[1449] In keeping with his loyalty, he attended the funeral of James VI & I in 1625 and made sure to pay homage to the king's successor, Charles I.[1450] This was necessary because diverging political interests dimmed his interest in his allegiance with Scotland's bishops.[1451] He managed to keep his office as Secretary but nonetheless struggled with the ascension of Charles I and the accompanying change in regime.[1452] Charles I decided that no judge or Lord of Session (save the Chancellor) would become a Privy Councillor, and desired the officers of state to resign as judges; Binning was effectively forced to resign as Lord President in 1626.[1453] Furthermore, because Sir William Alexander (soon to be Earl of Stirling) was granted the office of Resident Secretary of State at the English court, the power of Binning's own office was greatly undermined.[1454] Charles I also desired to claim former Church and Crown land in Scotland—a move welcomed by the bishops.[1455] This simultaneously caused distrust amongst the nobility, including Binning: he covertly criticised the king's actions.[1456] Despite these demoralising demotions, Binning took part in a commission for the surrenders of teinds, which aimed to implement revocation, in 1627.[1457] He fought against bishops' claims, taking charge of the valuation of the sale of teinds, stipend of ministers, and other matters pertaining to Church property.[1458] He was then made Earl of Haddington, replacing his title as Earl of Melrose, that same year; this may have been at the "request" of Charles I.[1459] He was then forced to resign as Secretary, and instead received the lesser office of Lord Privy Seal; he retreated from public affairs thereafter.[1460] He was present for Charles I's Scottish coronation in 1633 and died soon thereafter in 1637 at the age of 74.[1461]

In addition to his lucrative years in public offices, Haddington also had a very successful private law career.[1462] This allowed him to invest in land across the Lowlands, amassing one of the largest estates in Scotland at the time; towards the end of his life, he accrued the enormous sum of £68,000 through rents alone.[1463] Significantly, he purchased the lands and barony of Tyninghame from the Earl of Annandale for 200,000 merks in 1628; this was to become the Haddington country seat.[1464] Haddington married thrice, first in

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1449 Goodare, *ODNB.*
1450 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 311.
1451 Goodare, *ODNB.*
1452 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 311.
1453 *Ibid.*
1454 *Ibid.*
1455 Goodare, *ODNB.*
1456 Goodare, *ODNB.*
1457 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 311.
1458 *Ibid.*
1459 *Ibid.*
1460 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 312.
1461 *Ibid.*
1462 *Ibid.*
1463 Goodare, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 312-3.
1464 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 313.

1588 to Margaret Borthwick, the only child of James Borthwick of Newbyres; she died in 1596.[1465] Together, they had two daughters: Christian (married in 1610 and 1617; birth and death dates unknown); and Isabel (1596/6, married 1610, death date unknown).[1466] As was mentioned above, his second marriage was to Margaret Foulis in 1597 until her death in 1607.[1467] She left behind three sons and four daughters: Margaret (1598-after 1647); Helen (1599, died young); Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Second Earl of Haddington (1600-1640); James (ca. 1597-1607 to ca. 1663-1667); John (1605-before 1637); Jean (1607-1642); and Anne (1608).[1468] His last marriage, as already stated, was to Julian Kerr until his death in 1637 (she died not long thereafter). This marriage produced one child, Robert (1615-1640).[1469] Haddington was succeeded by his son, Thomas Hamilton.

Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Second Earl of Haddington (1600-1640)

Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Second Earl of Haddington, was born in 1600 to Thomas Hamilton, the First Earl of Haddington, and his second wife, Margaret Foulis. He obtained a license to travel abroad in 1615, essentially taking a Grand Tour for the furthering of his education; he returned to Scotland by 1621.[1470] He sat in Parliament following his return, and attended James VI's funeral in London with his father in 1625.[1471] He also was present with his father for Charles I's Scottish coronation in 1633, and was also sworn in as a member of the Privy Council that same year (apparently, he was not admitted until 1635).[1472] Upon his father's death in 1637, Hamilton inherited the title of Earl of Haddington, as well as the vast estate his father had accrued over the course of his lifetime.[1473] Quite suddenly, he was one of the wealthiest men in Scotland, as well as one of the country's most important public figures.[1474] The first of the Covenanters' Wars had also just begun, and Haddington had to be cautious of protecting his public image and choosing his allegiance.[1475] He first swore allegiance to King Charles in signing the King's Covenant in 1638, but it did not take long for his loyalty to waver.[1476]

1465 *Ibid.*
1466 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 315.
1467 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 313.
1468 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 314-5.
1469 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 315.
1470 David Stevenson, 'Hamilton, Thomas, Second Earl of Haddington (1600-1640),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/12127/?back=,12127,12126 (accessed 27 October, 2016); Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 315.
1471 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 316.
1472 Stevenson, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 316.
1473 *Ibid.*
1474 *Ibid.*
1475 *Ibid*
1476 *Ibid.*

He tried to help the king dissolve the general assembly that was created to reform the Church of Scotland in November of 1638, but these efforts backfired; Haddington ultimately came to support the dissident assembly in the end.[1477] Though he did maintain his support of the king, when the Covenanters' Army invaded England in 1640 during the Second Bishops' War, Haddington's switch of alliances was confirmed when he was appointed Major-General of the Lothians.[1478] He was tasked to defend the southeastern border of Scotland from any English counterattacks, and he did manage to prevent the garrison of Berwick from capturing a magazine near Coldstream on 29 August, 1640.[1479] He returned to his headquarters at Dunglass Castle, and received news that the English had been defeated at Newburn the next day on 30 August.[1480] That very night, he was killed during the celebrations of the Scottish victory due to an explosion of gunpowder stored at the castle; about seventy others (including two of Haddington's half-brothers, and numerous gentlemen, officers, and servants) were also killed.[1481]

Haddington was married twice, first in 1622 to Catherine, fourth daughter of John Erskine, Earl of Mar and Lord Treasurer; she brought with her a dowry of 20 thousand merks.[1482] This marriage also resulted in the union of two of Scotland's enormously powerful families.[1483] Before Catherine's death and burial at Tyninghame in the winter of 1635, they had seven children: Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Third Earl of Haddington (circa 1625-1645); Lord John Hamilton, the Fourth Earl of Haddington (1626-1669); Alexander (died young in 1629); Unnamed Child (1630); Margaret (1632, died young); Robert (1633, died young); James (1634, died young).[1484] Haddington's second (very brief) marriage was to Jean, the third daughter of George, the Second Marquess of Huntly in January, 1640.[1485] She was to survive him by fifteen years, dying in the summer of 1655. Margaret had one daughter with him, Margaret (who was born posthumously) in January of 1641.[1486]

Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Third Earl of Haddington (circa 1625-1645)

Lord Thomas Hamilton, the Third Earl of Haddington, was born the eldest son of the Second Earl of Haddington and Catherine, the daughter of the Fourth Earl of Mar in approximately 1625; he was still a minor upon the death of his father.[1487] He was possibly educated in France, but remained uninfluenced by the country's Catholicism; he joined the Reformed Church

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1477 Stevenson, *ODNB.*
1478 Stevenson, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 316.
1479 *Ibid.*
1480 *Ibid.*
1481 *Ibid.*
1482 *Ibid.*
1483 *Ibid.*
1484 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 317.
1485 Stevenson, *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 316.
1486 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 317.
1487 *Ibid.*

upon his return to Scotland.[1488] He died of consumption at 19 or 20 in February, 1645, unable to participate in any of the events of the time.[1489] He married in 1643 to Henrietta, elder daughter of Gaspard de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon and Marischal of France and Anne de Polignac. They had no children but did manage to stir up lawsuits with the Haddingtons over her marriage settlements after the Third Earl's premature death.[1490] She died in 1673 in Paris.[1491]

Lord John Hamilton, the Fourth Earl of Haddington (1626-1669)

Lord John Hamilton, the Fourth Earl of Haddington was born in 1626 to the Second Earl of Haddington and Catherine, the daughter of the Fourth Earl of Mar; he succeeded as Fourth Earl following the death of his brother, Thomas, in 1645. He was an active Member of Parliament and participant of Scotland's political matters.[1492] He participated in the coronation of Charles II at Scone in January, 1651, and Cromwell fined him £555.11s.8d as a consequence.[1493] After the Restoration, his loyalty was rewarded with a position in the Privy Council; he also supported the Episcopacy when it was re-established in Scotland in 1661.[1494] Because he Fourth Earl was possibly physically disabled, and was also certainly of life-long ill-health, he died in his early fourties in 1669.[1495] He married Christian, second daughter of John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, in 1648.[1496] They had four sons and eight daughters, only four of whom survived to adulthood with certainty: Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun (1649-1711); Lord Charles Hamilton, the Fifth Earl of Haddington (1650-1685); Catherine (1652, died young); Anna (1653, died young); Helen (1656, married 1677, death date unknown); Susanna (1657, married 1679, death date unknown); Christian (1659, died young); Thomas (1661, died young); John (1663, died young); Elizabeth (1667, died young); William (1669, died young); Mary (birthdate unknown, was alive in 1686).[1497]

Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun (1649-1711)

She is discussed in the main body of this dissertation.

Lord Charles Hamilton, the Fifth Earl of Haddington (1650-1685)

Lord Charles Hamilton, the Fifth Earl of Haddington was born in 1650 to John Hamilton, the Fourth Earl of Haddington, and Catherine, the daughter

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1488 *Ibid.*
1489 *Ibid.*
1490 *Ibid.*
174 *Ibid.*
1492 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 318.
1493 *Ibid.*
1494 *Ibid.*
1495 *Ibid.*
1496 *Ibid.*
1497 Balfour Paul, v. IV, pp. 318-9.

of the Fourth Earl of Mar. Lord Charles Hamilton was less interested in politics as his predecessors, though he died supporting his chief, the Duke of Hamilton, in his opposition of the Duke of Lauderdale.[1498] He also opposed an agreement ("The Bond") in 1677 that would prevent its signatories, their families, and their tenantries from absenting themselves from public worship, as well as the performance of baptisms and marriages by anyone else but legally authorised ministers.[1499] He then refused to sign the Test Act of 1681 that would impose extreme measures to get Covenanters to comply with the Episcopacy.[1500] Like his predecessors, he died young, in his thirties, in 1685. He did marry Margaret Leslie, elder daughter of John Leslie, Sixth Earl and later Duke of Rothes, in 1674.[1501] Because Lady Margaret Leslie was due to inherit her father's title, this arrangement granted the Earldom of Rothes to their first son, and the Earldom of Haddington to their secnd son.[1502] They had three children: Anne (1676, died young); Lord John Leslie, Ninth Earl of Rothes (1679-1722); and Lord Thomas Hamilton, Sixth Earl of Haddington (1680-1735).[1503]

Lord Thomas Hamilton, Sixth Earl of Haddington (1680-1735)

1504

Lord Thomas Hamilton, Sixth Earl of Haddington was born in 1680 to Lord Chares Hamilton, the Fifth Earl of Haddington, and Lady Margaret

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1498 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 319.

1499 *Ibid.*

1500 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 319; Dictionary of the Scots Language, s.v., "Test," *Dictionary of Scots Language*, 2016, http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/test_n1 (accessed 1 November).

1501 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 319.

1502 *Ibid.*

1503 *Ibid.*

1504 John Smith, after William Aikman, 'Portrait of Lord Thomas Hamilton, Sixth Earl of Haddington,' 1719, mezzotint, 340x250mm, from *The National Portrait Gallery*, http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw61888/Thomas-Hamilton-6th-Earl-of-Haddington-Simon-the-Dutch-Skipper (accessed 1 November, 2016).

Leslie, Eighth Countess of Rothes. He was forced to sell the lands of Byres to Charles Hope of Hopetoun in order to settle his financial affairs.[1505] From 1700, he led the squadrone party and was also a great supporter of the Union.[1506] Upon Queen Anne's death, the Sixth Earl also became a steadfast supporter of the Hanoverians and joined Argyll as a gentleman volunteer during the 1715 Jacobite Uprising; he was wounded at the Battle of Sheriffmuir.[1507] He was rewarded in 1716 with the office of Lord Lieutenant of Haddington County, a Knighthood in the Order of the Thistle, and was also elected as one of sixteen representative peers in the House of Lords in 1717, 1722, and 1727.[1508] In addition to these public duties, he also became active in improving his estate of Tyninghame under the influence of Lady Helen through the planting of trees and the enclosure of its lands.[1509] He also went on to write two treatises on forest trees (each published posthumously in 1756 and 1761, respectively); this was a great shift for a man whose passions once lay in dogs, horses, and the high society of London.[1510] He married Lady Helen Hope of Hopetoun, sister of the First Earl of Hopetoun, at the age of sixteen in 1696; they were first cousins as Lady Helen's mother, Margaret Hamilton, and Hadadington's father, Charles Hamilton, were siblings.[1511] He died in 1735, and Lady Helen survived him by over thirty years, dying in 1768. Though they only had four children together, they all managed to survive to adulthood.[1512] They were: Charles Hamilton, Lord Binning (1697-1732); John (matriculated at Glasgow University in 1716, admitted into the Faculty of Advocates in 1725, and died 1772); Margaret (died unmarried in 1768); Christian (married 1725, died 1770).[1513]

1505 T.F. Henderson, 'Hamilton, Thomas, Sixth Earl of Haddington (1680-1735),' rev. David Moody, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,* H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/12127/?back=,12127,12126 (accessed 1 November, 2016); Balfour Paul, p. 320.

1506 *Ibid.*

1507 Henderson, 'Hamilton, Thomas, Sixth Earl,' *ODNB;* Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 321.

1508 *Ibid.*

1509 *Ibid.*

1510 *Ibid.*

1511 *Ibid*.

1512 *Ibid.*

1513 Balfour Paul, v. IV, p. 321.

Appendix B: Financial Data for the Hope Family

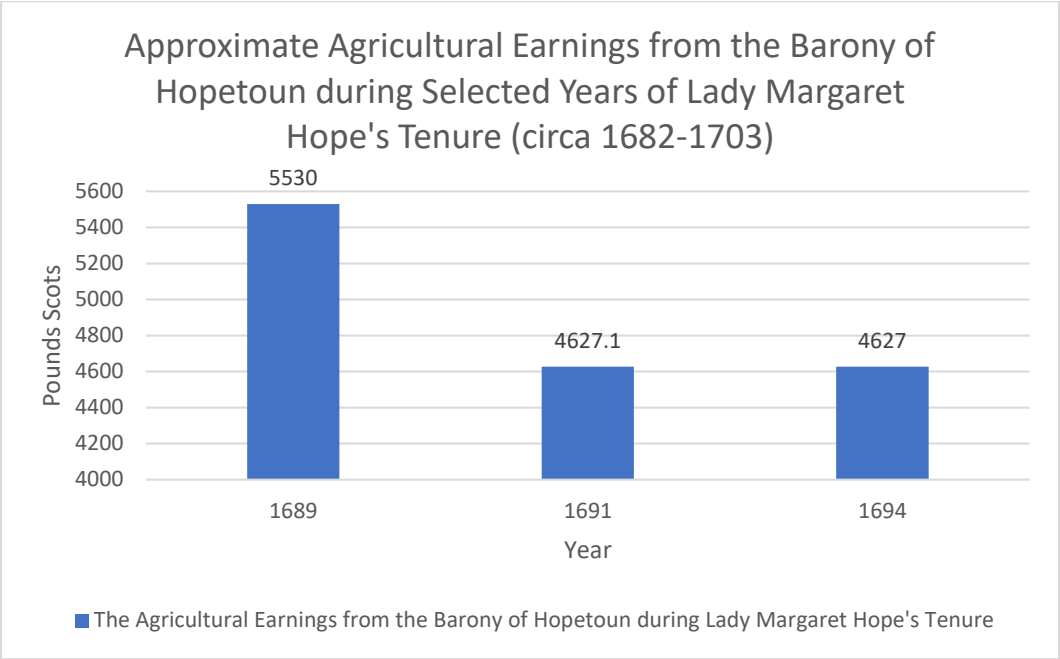
There are seven charts here that compile and showcase the financial data examined in the third and fourth chapters. The first two charts demonstrate the amount of money made during select years of Lady Margaret Hope's tenure (circa 1682-1703) via the agricultural tenancies of the Barony of Hopetoun and via Leadhills, respectively. The second five charts illustrate: the earnings from trade with the Dutch in un-smelted lead, circa 1705-1750; the earnings from domestic trade in smelted lead, circa 1729-1732; the earnings from renting portions of mines to third-party companies, circa 1731-1740; the earnings from the Barony of Ormiston during the Second Earl's tenure; and the earnings from the Barony of Hopetoun during the Second Earl's tenure.

It should be noted, however, that these charts discuss only a small sample of the available data concerning the Hopetoun estate's income from agriculture and lead. There are several reasons why this is so. First, financial records during this period were not the type of bank statements used today, which makes them more difficult to interpret. Total earnings and expenditures were not listed in single, cohesive documents. Instead, estimates have been made based on such records as contracts and receipts of discharge. Second, the Hopetoun estate covered vast areas of the Lowlands. The available from before the improvement era (when farms were communally run using medieval farming methods) is vague and scant. After improvements began, farms were consolidated and bookkeeping became more vigorous since agriculture became driven by profit rather than survival. Consequently, individual farms belonging to the Hopetoun estate alone can have a vast amount of detailed records. Meanwhile, there are areas of the estate with little surviving documentation (particularly before the implementation of agricultural improvement). This author has consequently had to be selective in the materials chosen for analysis. In regards to the agricultural analysis from the period of Lady Margaret's tenure, the sole focus remains on the Barony of Hopetoun (the area surrounding Leadhills) since a reasonable amount of documentation concerning this barony from the 1680s and 1690s survives in the archives (even though incomplete). The agricultural analysis from the period of the First and Second Earls of Hopetoun concentrates on the Baronies of Hopetoun and Ormiston for the same reason: a good deal of documentation from these regions and this period survives.

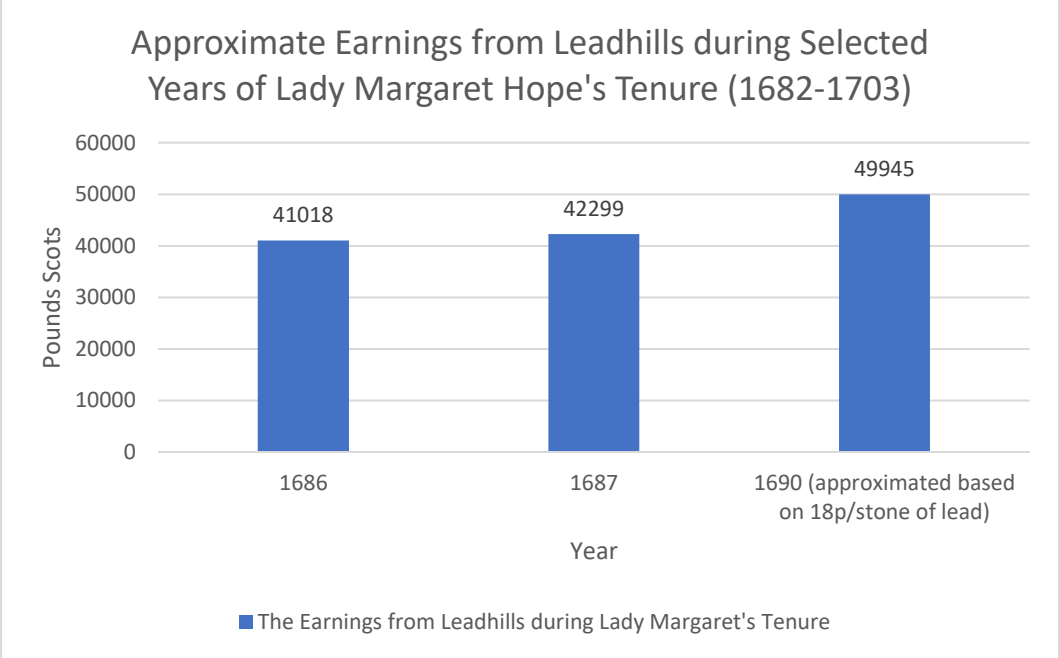
Documentation pertaining to Leadhills also poses a unique challenge: meticulous records were kept of the mining and sale of lead from Leadhills from the 1660s when the mines came into the Hopes' possession. However, as with the tenancy papers, the Leadhills records do not include general statements of income and expenditures. This examination also relied on such documents as contracts and receipts of discharge. Other variables, such as the yearly value of lead, were consequently difficult to track, as well. As such, even if the amount of lead sold one year is known, sometimes it is only possible to estimate the value of a single year's earnings. The documentation

was therefore examined from select years in order to divulge general, rather than yearly, financial trends. Once again, while thoroughly researched, this is not an in-depth analysis.

Even with an approximate survey, these charts do represent the general financial trends of the Hopetoun estate. Through the examination of just two of the estate's baronies, it is clear that their income from agriculture was impressive. That the income generated from the Barony of Hopetoun declined during Lady Margaret's tenure was undoubtedly due to the poor harvests and famine experienced at the end of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the Baronies of Hopetoun and Ormiston trended towards financial growth during the eighteenth century thanks to agricultural improvement. However, without a thorough analysis of the entire estate (which grew considerably during the eighteenth century), it is, frankly, impossible to guess what the percentage of income these baronies constituted or what the entire agricultural earnings were in this period. It is at least safe to say that the Baronies of Hopetoun and Ormiston provided a good deal of income. They also point to the beneficial effects that agricultural improvements had on these baronies. Meanwhile, the income from Leadhills was the Hopes' failsafe: it was massive at the end of the seventeenth century and it only continued to grow during the eighteenth century once the First Earl began renting portions of the mines to third-party mining companies. All of this data, summarised in the charts below, demonstrates the growing wealth of the Hope family. It is no wonder, therefore, that they were able to afford to build a brand-new country seat.



(Table 1)



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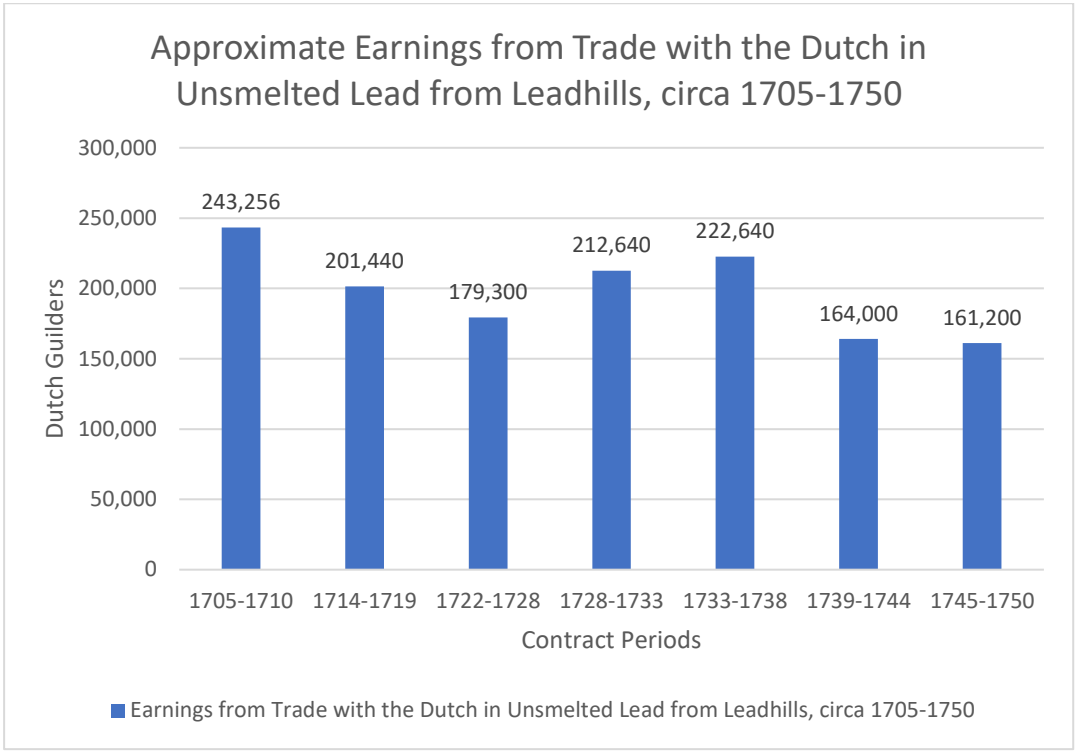

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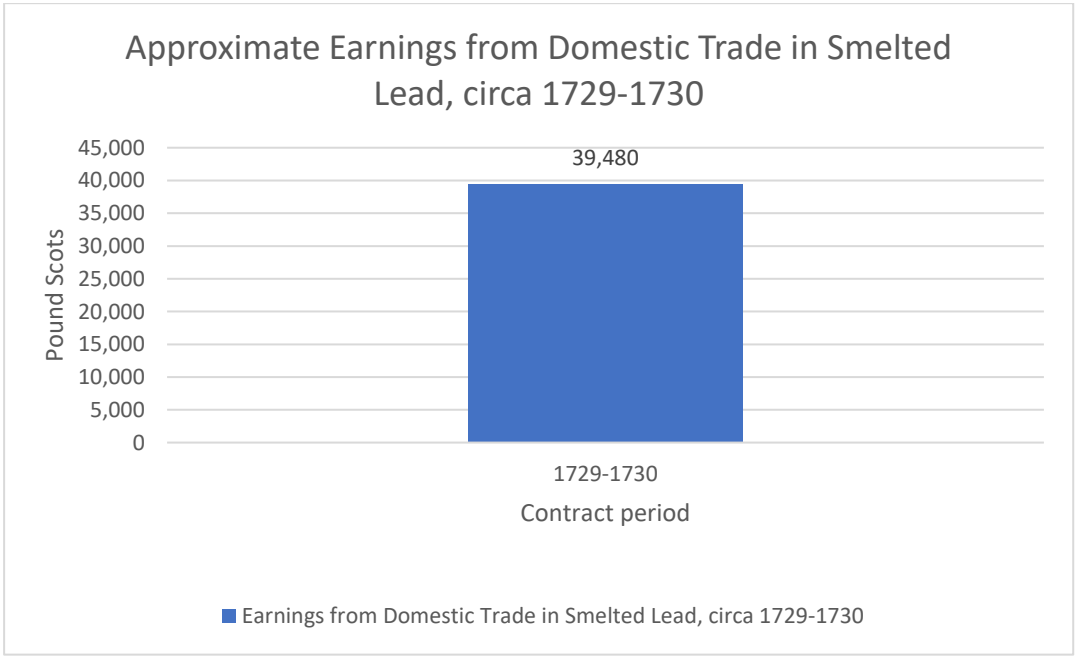

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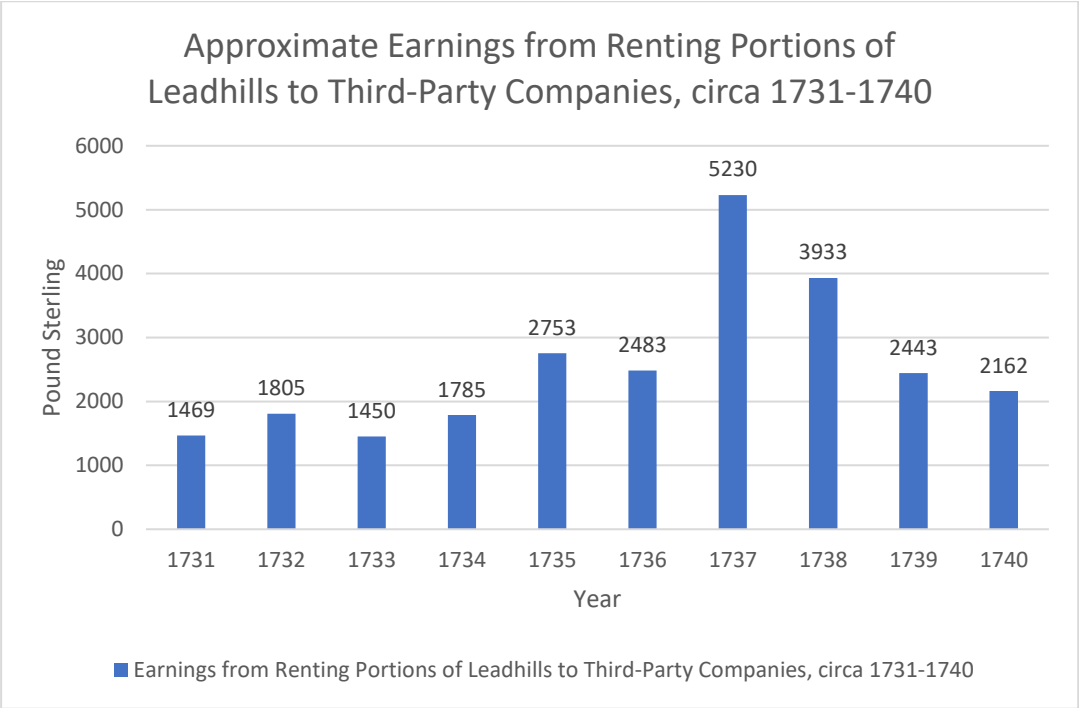

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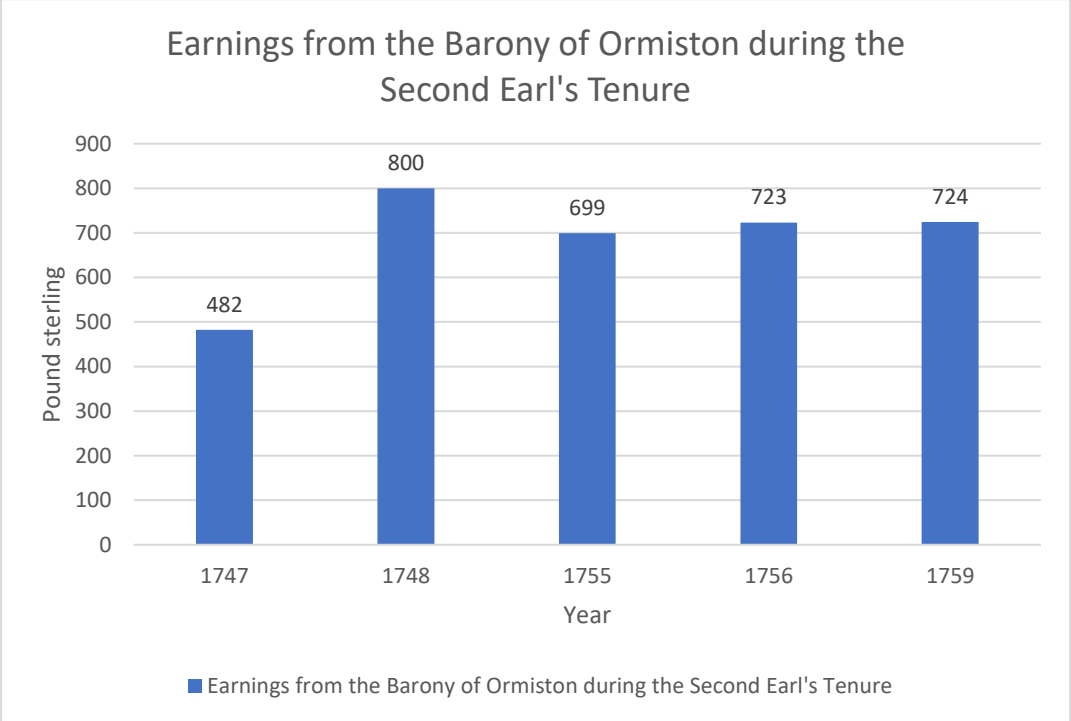
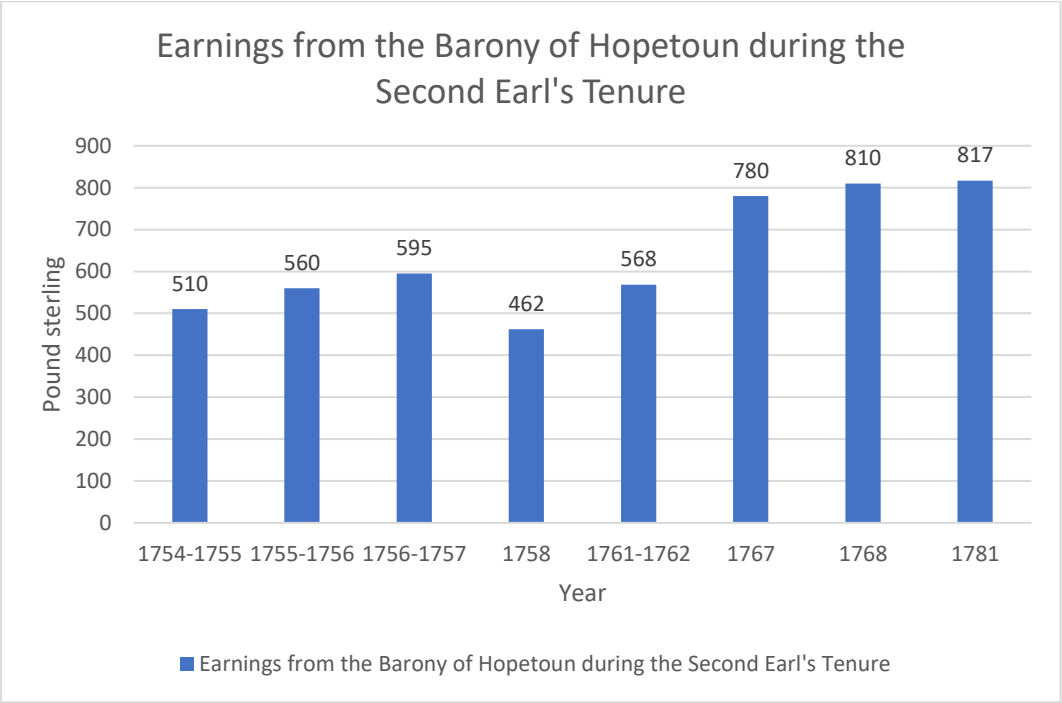


(Table 6)


Earnings from the Barony of Hopetoun during the Second Earl's Tenure
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Pound sterling
510
560
595
462
568
780
810
817
1754-1755
1755-1756
1756-1757
1758
1761-1762
1767
1768
1781
Year
Earnings from the Barony of Hopetoun during the Second Earl's Tenure

(Table 7)

Appendix C: The Effect of Agricultural Improvements on the Landholdings of the Earl of Hopetoun during the Late Eighteenth Century.

It was in towards the end of the Second Earl's life that Andrew Wight began to publish the first volumes *Present State of Husbandry in Scotland*; the final volume was published in 1784. Additionally, John Sinclair compiled the *Old Statistical Account (OSA)* throughout the 1790s. The Hopetoun estate, of course, is featured heavily in these publications and can provide a first-hand account of the state of agricultural improvement at the Hopetoun estate at this point in time. This appendix will examine the baronies of Hopetoun and Ormiston and the parish of Abercorn, which were studied in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of this dissertation.

Abercorn

Writers on agriculture commented on those earls' success in landscaping at the end of the eighteenth-century. Andrew Wight states that the Third Earl's lands in Linlithgowshire (West Lothian) measured at least 1,500 acres, and the main farm of Hopetoun House was enclosed with expensive stone and lime walls, ditches, and hedges.[1514] He praises the quality of the livestock raised at Hopetoun: a bull could be sold to a butcher for as much as £10.[1515] The author also extols the Third Earl as an ambitious improver, stating: 'in the management of his extensive estate, the Earl gives every encouragement to his tenants for improving, that of long leases in particular, without which no improvement can be expected from tenants.'[1516] Wight also discussed the extensive improvements made to the landscape surrounding Hopetoun House (Abercorn Parish).[1517] When the survey of Abercorn Parish was published in the *OSA* fourteen years later, Rev. Hugh Meiklejohn discusses the region in a similar manner. Rev. Meiklejohn states that while 'there is at present but a small proportion of the parish employed in raising grain,' it appears that the farms were 'met with considerable attention in this parish at an early period.'[1518] In other words, though the main type of agriculture practiced in Abercorn Parish was pastoral, the spirit of

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1514 Andrew Wight, *Present state of husbandry in Scotland. Extracted from Reports Made to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates, and Published by their Authority*, Volume III Part II, Edinburgh 1784, pp. 474-5, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale, University of Edinburgh, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tabID=T001&docId=CW109809215&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FACSIMILE (accessed 24 May, 2017).

1515 Wight, Present state of husbandry, volume 3 part 2, p. 476.

1516 Wight, Present state of husbandry, volume 3 part 2, p. 481.

1517 Wight, Present state of husbandry, volume 3 part 2, pp. 476-82.

1518 Rev. Hugh Meiklejohn, Minister, 'Number XVIII: Parish of Abercorn. (County and Presbytery of Linlithgow, Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale),' *OSA*, volume 20, 1798, p. 386, *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 1791-1845*, University of Edinburgh, http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/viewer/osa-vol20-Parish_record_for_Abercorn_in_the_county_of_Linlithgow_in_volume_20_of_account_1/ (accessed 23 May, 2017).

improvement had a big impact on the region. Rev. Meiklejohn asserts that wheat had been a staple crop of the parish for nearly two centuries and local farms practiced advanced agricultural techniques, methods, and technologies.[1519]

The Earls of Hopetoun also employed new draining methods to ensure each enclosure was properly watered or dried.[1520] Much of the countryside of Abercorn was still kept as pasturage for prosperous cattle and sheep farms, which provided much of Edinburgh's markets with meat.[1521] The Third Earl could also boast that 'all the lands in this parish [were] inclosed [sic]'; Abercorn Parish had long benefited from the Earls of Hopetoun's ambitious management style.[1522] The Hope family had also invested time, energy, and money in the breeding of farm animals—even going so far as to import different breeds of horses and cattle from England for experimentation at Hopetoun.[1523] As a consequence of this industry, the value of wool produced at Hopetoun had grown exponentially.[1524] In all, the portion of Abercorn Parish belonging to the Hope family was worth £4,586.6s Scots (approximately £382 sterling) by 1798.[1525] The success of the farms in Abercorn Parish at the end of the eighteenth century was rooted in the first steps towards improvement taken by Lady Margaret and the First Earl at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Hopetoun (Leadhills)

The analysis of the Barony of Hopetoun (the area surrounding Leadhills) will be brief as Wight's treatise does not discuss the southern half of Lanarkshire in any great detail. Rev. Macochonie's analysis of the region in the *OSA* is brief, albeit thorough. As discussed in the fourth chapter, Lanarkshire's topography and climate made the region better suited to pasturage. Macochonie asserts that 'the proportion of arable ground to that of pasture, may be as 1 to 200.'[1526] However, the region's farmers must have prospered greatly from the wool industry once they had converted to full-time sheep farming in the second half of the eighteenth century. Rev. Macochonie states that 'the wool sold here about 9 years ago [circa 1783] from 1s.6d to 2s.6d the stone. None of it is now [in 1792] sold for less than 5s' thanks to favourable markets in England and abroad and updated sheering and washing methods.[1527] Farmers also invested in good grasses for the sheep's diet.[1528] The result of the enclosure and growth in size of sheep farms was that the population of the region thinned in an effort to find livings

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1519 Rev. Meiklejohn, OSA, volume 20, pp. 386-7.
1520 Rev. Meiklejohn, OSA, volume 20, p. 387.
1521 Rev. Meiklejohn, OSA, volume 20, p. 388.
1522 Rev. Meiklejohn, OSA, volume 20, p. 389.
1523 Rev. Meiklejohn, OSA, volume 20, p. 391.
1524 Ibid.
1525 Rev. Meiklejohn, OSA, volume 20, p. 394.
1526 Macochonie, *OSA,* vol. 4, p. 507.
1527 Macochonie, *OSA,* vol. 4, p. 508.
1528 *Ibid.*

elsewhere.[1529] Nonetheless, wages did increase dramatically for the portion of the population that remained. Female labourers ('maid servants, fit for out door work, that is, for hoeing potatoes, working at hay, milking ewes and reaping corn') earned £2 per year; they would have made barely half that amount thirty years previously.[1530] Meanwhile, ploughmen received an impressive £6 to £8 per year, in addition to room and board.[1531] While the parish church of Crawford cared for the poor in Crawford, Rev. Macochonie states that the Third Earl cared for the poor of Leadhills himself.[1532] His hands-on management style was far-reaching. Rev. Macochonie also praises the industry and ambition of the new, improvement-minded tenants.[1533] Although the Third Earl is mainly associated with the mines at Leadhills in this survey, the praise that was given to the industry and enterprising spirit of the local farms nonetheless reflected well on the Third Earl's management.

Ormiston

Wight declares that the Barony of Ormiston is 'the best cultivated spot in the county of Haddington [East Lothian].'[1534] He begins his survey by lauding the initial steps towards improvement by John Cockburn of Ormiston (who went bankrupt as a consequence of his heavy investments) in the early eighteenth century rather than the efforts made by the Hopes.[1535] As John Cockburn of Ormiston is believed to have been the first true agricultural improver in Scotland, this was a necessary tribute for Wight to write.[1536] Furthermore, the Second Earl's purchase of the Ormiston estate was a clever one: since it was already improved, he did not have to spend his own time and money investing in Ormiston's modernisation. Much of Wight's time is also spent extoling the industry of the local tenant farmers and providing commentary on the best modern agricultural techniques.[1537] Wight does praise the Second Earl's attentiveness as a proprietor and his knowledge of sheep breeding in a discussion of Robert Wight's farm.[1538] In providing the support and opportunities necessary for his tenants to update their farms, the Second Earl ultimately allowed them to succeed; he was a proactive proprietor.

1529 Macochonie, *OSA,* vol. 4, p. 509.
1530 *Ibid.*
1531 *Ibid.*
1532 Macochonie, *OSA,* vol. 4, p. 510.
1533 Macochonie, *OSA,* vol. 4, p. 513.
1534 Andrew Wight, *Present state of husbandry in Scotland. Extracted from Reports Made to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates, and Published by their Authority. In two volumes, volume 2,* Volume 2, Edinburgh, 1778, p. 132, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* Gale, University of Edinburgh, http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=ed_itw&tabID=T001&docId=CW108661819&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FACSIMILE (accessed 24 May, 2017).
1535 Wight, *Present state of husbandry,* volume 2, pp. 132-3; Whyte, p. 121.
1536 Whyte, p. 121.
1537 Wight, *Present state of husbandry,* volume 2, pp. 132-160.
1538 Wight, *Present state of husbandry,* volume 2, p. 144.

The Second Earl died just a few years after Wight's second volume was published, and it was up to his son to continue this legacy. The survey of Ormiston published in the fourth volume of the Old Statistical Account in 1792 reflects the region's continued prosperity.[1539] According to Rev. Colvill: 'provisions of all kinds, fish excepted, abound in this parish; and besides, it sends out supplies to the metropolis and neighbouring towns.'[1540] In addition to high quality, well-bred livestock, Ormiston enjoyed highly arable land and a 70-acre forest.[1541] Colvill also lists relevant prices and wages that underscore his parish's wealth. Whereas beef, mutton, pork, and lamb was valued at 1½d to 2½d (he does not specify a unit of weight measurement) 50 years previously, these meats had then risen to 3½d.[1542] The average price of wheat by 1792 was £1 per boll, that of barley was 17s per boll, that of oats was 14s per boll, and that of pease was 12s per boll.[1543] Labourers in Ormiston subsequently benefited from these high prices: common labourers earned 9d to 1s per day; wrights received 1s.4d per day; and bricklayers and masons made 1s.8d to 1s.10d per day.[1544] Colvill also describes the village of Ormiston as a content community of farmers well-tended to by the Third Earl of Hopetoun.[1545] In short, Ormiston was a prosperous barony and parish that greatly profited from the agricultural improvements made by John Cockburn and the Earls of Hopetoun. While tenants and labourers surely enjoyed more comfortable lives as a consequence, it is clear that Ormiston was a hugely important source of income for the Hope family. The commercialisation of agriculture became a key part of the Hopetoun economy.

1539 Colvill, *OSA,* volume 4, pp. 166-72.
1540 Colvill, *OSA,* volume 4, p. 167-8.
1541 *Ibid.*
1542 Colvill, *OSA,* vol. 4, p. 169.
1543 *Ibid.*
1544 *Ibid.*
1545 Colvill, *OSA,* vol. 4, pp. 169-70.

Appendix D: Agreement btwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather Mason in Kirkhouses

That the said David is to build to his Lordship oxen byres at the foot of dog kennel yeard conform to a draught fourteen foot wide within walls and to cast a right sufficient pend over them, the walls to be five foot high before the pend befounded, the wall on North Side to be three foot thick and the wall on southside eighteen inches thick which last wall is to be built closs on the back side of the south wall of knnel yeard, and the sd David is to place all the doors and windows that his Lordship (?) in the said byres his Lordship always furnishing ribets for them or paying the said David for them at three pence the foot as bracked work for which his Lordship is to pay to the sd David twenty shilling Scots, for each foot of the said byres length to be measured from the one end therof to the other being all the payment agreed on both for side walls and pend, as also he is to build a wall from the south west corner of dogkennel house to the west dyke of nine foot high and to peace what doors in it his Lordship pleases he getting the hewen work as above, for which his Lordship is to pay him seven pounds Scots for the rood of it till it be two ells high, and nine pound Scots of each rood of whats above the two ells, and the said (?) the gabets of the forsaid byres at the same price that he builds the wall cross through the kennel yeard at, all which work the said David oblidges himself to make good and sufficient and to have it finished betwixt and the fist of august next under the penalty of fourty pounds Scots attour performance and the sd Earl is to lay all materials as near as can be to his hand but is to furnish no barrowmen to him whereunto both parties oblidge themselves In witness wherof they have subscribed these presents at Hoptoun House the third day of April Jajvjjct and fourteen years before these witnesses James Gray and William Bradful (?) to the said Earl the sd William Bradful being writer herof whereas there are some of the side walls of the within mentioned byre built and no pend cast over them Therefore I the within designed David Mather hereby oblidge my self in the terms within mentioned to cast a pend over the said side walls now built or any part of them as the within designed Earl shall need it and that for a merk Scots the foot to be measured conform to the within agreement I having got payment already for the said side walls whereon no pend is cast at half a merk the foot In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents at Hoptoun House the twenty day of Febry Jajvjjct and sixteen years before tehse witnesses John Gordon factor to the said Earl and the within designed William Bradful writter hereo

Appendix E:
'Contract Betwixt The Laird of Hoptoun & his Curators And Tobias Bachope, 1698'

At Edinburgh the twenty nynth day of December Jajvjc nyntie eight years It is Contracted Agreed and Ended Betwixt Charles Hope of Hoptoun with Consent of his Curators or quorum of them undersubscribing, And they as taking burden on them for him in respect of his minority to the effect underwritten on the Ane Part And Tobias Bachope mason in Alloway On the other part *In manner following That is to say* The Said Tobias Bachope for the Causes underwritten Binds and oblidges him his heirs exers & successors what somever to Build to the Said Charles Hope ane House at Abercorne of the dimensions after specit with two Pavilions Each of twelve foot Square and twenty eight foot high to the underbed of the Cornish joyned to the ffront Corners of the said house, wt windows, stairs, astragalls, and Cornishes, according to the Draught yrof made and subscrybed by Sir William Bruce of Kinross knight and baronet Consisting the said house of ffourscore foot in Length upon the East and westsydes [sic] and ffourscore seven foot upon the south and north sides and threttie eight foot and ane half of height above the terrasse, and seven foot under the Terrasse which makes the ground story twelve or threttein foot high from floor to floor at the option of the said Charles Hope with all the stone Partitions, stone stairs wthin and without the said house and Pavilions and the number of Concave Chimneys

Kitchen Chimneys and Stovadges, two ovens, and Chimney

Heads of Eleven foot high above the Roofe Caped [Coped] like Chimneyheads at Kinross in fine Aisler work with windows and Doors according to the said draught signed by the said Sir William Bruce All of Sufficient mason work In manner particularly after exprest viz All the Outsyde of the forsd house and Pavilions of the dimensions respect abov spectd ["respectively above specified," see GD45/17/769 copy contract] of the ffynest sort of Aislerwork the Low story above the Terrasse being in Rustick work as the house of Kinross is, or in Jonick [Ionic] Rustick as the house of Craigiehall is at the option of the said Charles Hope and his saids Curators, & the first foot therof being ane Plinth and above the uppermost of the Rustick ane Astrigall wherupon the Soles of the windows are to be Laid & all the Rest of the walls fine plain Aisler, closs bedded, & so Closs Joynted That the Lyme cannot appear or be seen, and alse Smooth as any paper, Each Course of ane foot higth breecking bond exactly in the midle, The Ground story windows to be four foot Square in Rustick work finishing with the Courses of walls, and with a List round the day:Light thereof As the windows of the Ground story of the sd house of Kinross are, And the Windows of the other two Stories ffour foot wyde, and Eight foot high of daylight finished with proportionell Jonick Architrave, freiss and attick Cornish of the full projecture of the Corona Reising towards the face of the walls for Casting off the Rain breaking at the upper Corner as useually Architrave windows does wt a Plinth on the underend of the Architrve Resting upon the Sole, Which Sole must Stand off the plane wall a litlemore [sic] then the Projecture of the Plinth under the Architrave resting upon the Astragalls above the Rustick, As also the Soles of the uppermost windows must Rest upon the second Astragall in like manner Item The Cornish round the house of Compleat Jonick Cornish proportionell to the height of the wall of the house, form the Astragall above the house to top of wall next the Easing [eve] of the Skaillie [slate], Rysing from the Nose of the Cornish under the Easing Sclatt according to the Bavell of the Rooffe with Dentaleiss round the house And Returning the three tympons upon the midle of Each side of the East, South and North sydes

of the house And to Cutt and sett up ane Coat of Armes in each Tympon as they shall be delivered & extended in ane draught therof And to make the Chimneys of the Dyning Rooms, with Drawing Rooms, Chambers and Closetts and other Rooms proportionable to the saids Rooms in height and wydness as shall be Condescended upon by the said Sir William Bruce in handsome mouldings and Concave Jambs, such as those at Kinross Consisting of three stones That is two Jambs and ane Lintell, Item the Kitchin, Sellars, Stair Case, Ladner, Second tableroom &c: are to be Vaulted as they are marked in the sd Draught, the said Charles Hope always, furnishing timber and paying the wrights for making the Centries and Culmes therto. Item The said Tobias Binds and oblidges him and his forsaids To Build two office houses, Each of them Eightie four foot in length twenty four foot in breadth and Nyntein foot in height with Chimneys, Stovadges, Ovens, Doors, windows, stairs & Entries Conforme to the sd draught yrof Subscrybed by the said Sir William, The Gabells next the body of the Main house in fine Aisler and rustic Corners, fourteen inches and twenty one Inches long, Outband and Inband, and a foot of height each Course in fine, smooth, Cutt work & the Chimney heads of twelve foot high in fine Aisler finishing with Cornishes as the office house Chimneys of Kinross are with ane Attick Cornish upon the top, of the office house walls and ane Plinth of Aisler below the said Cornish, And to heugh and Lay the Vestible and hail stairs, floors and Pleats in the Main house and all the Rooms and passages in the Low Story therof, and the whole office houses in good and Sufficient well Joynted polished pavement of ane Inch and ane half at least of square Joynts to joyne each other, The Pavement being four inches thick, and the Pavement of the Vestible and floor under the great stair being Laid with two different Colours of stone in Such figures as Shall be condescended upon by Hoptoun, And to make and build ane Stone Cupola above the Rooffe in Jonick work with Eight Jonick pillars, of two part Releiff with Architrave ffreiss and Cornish rising eight foot high to the upperbed of the Cornish, and to be wrought in neat and Clean work in all it's proportions and members with a stone Rooffe arched wt four windows in it finishing in Stone work, According to the draught therof Item The said Tobias Binds and oblidges him and his forsds To make the great Stair in the body of the main house with Pletts and Pillars arched above in the Rooffe therof According to ye Draught and Modell exactly Joynted all as Smooth as paper, And also the rest of the stairs within the house, Pavilions, and officehouses with the rest of the Stairs wtout the house from the Inner Court and Garden to the Terrasses upon all the sides of the house round stairs of six foot free passage at the upper most steps therof, As also the Stair from the Terrasse to the Vestible as it is Designed for ane Iron: Raill with a stair under it to goe to the offices in the ground story finishing the Outsyde of the Porch Rustick pedestals and Pilasters above and arches all of fine Aisler work and the Insyde of the said porch finishing in fine Aisler work and the door therof with a swelling moulding and Cornish and the windows as the rest with Architrve ffreize & Cornish with a stair from the Garden Room to the parter [parterre] with pillars of the Ionic order; Architrave freize and Cornish, pletts stepps, Ballestars, and pedestals like the porches of Kinross house fitted for a balcony above it as the same is drawen and designed All of ym in fine exact work polished as smooth as paper, And to build ane Terrasse wall of three foot and a half in height Comprehending the Cope above the Court & Parter round the house with hewen Cope Item the said Tobias Binds and oblidges him & his forsds To Corbell under each Chiney in the second and third stories of the Main house, & in all the rooms of the second story of the office houses with stones closs Joynted as broad and Long as may serve the Length and breadth of each hearth Stone, And to duely Carry up the Vents of al the Chimneys of Suteable proper Size and Wydness for preventing of Smoak According to the best rules of his Art, and to the satisfaction of the Said Sir Wm Bruce And to Pave the

whole doors and windows of the Main house pavilions and officehouses with stone the whole thickness of the wall. AND LASTLY the said Tobias Binds and oblidges him To Compleatly ffinish the said new building Insyde and outsyde work therof in every part of ye Samen in exact, well hewen, smooth and straight work, In length breadth, thickness of walls wt the dimensions and in all and every oyr parts and things whatfor as well not named as named exactly and Compleatly according to the said draught in all its parts, which is hereby understood by both parties To Comprehend the Mason work of ye whole draughts of the Main house pavilions, and Office houses upon his own proper Charges & expenses, And for that effect to Provyde himself with Sufficient Mason Quarriers, Barrowmen and all member of Outencills [sic] (Scaffolding excepted) Setting up and Changing Scaffolding from tyme to tyme till the sd Mason work shall be compleatly finished, And the said Tobias is to uphold the Scaffolding till the work is at ane end, with tubs, barrows, buckets morter meats [sic?], shuffells and beaters upon his own proper Charges and expenses, And the sd Tobias Binds and oblidges him & his forsds To win, work out and heugh all the stones both for the Wall stones and Aisler out of the Quarrie belonging to Manner [/Mannor] (wherof Hoptoun has purchased at priviledge) By his own Quarriers & other workmen all to be Imployed by the said Tobias upon his own proper Charges and expenses, Excepting only such stones which Hoptoun hes already winn or may happen to winn by his own workmen out of the old Castle of Abercorne and Ruins yrof during the tyme of the sd work which are proper for vaults or pends or hewen work wtin the house, of which the said Tobias is to have the Choyce for these ends only[1546] And the said Tobias Binds and oblidges him & his forsds To Enter to the said work betwixt and the first day of March next to come And to Compleat and finish the first stories of the Main house Vault height, and the hail Mason work of the office houses betwixt and the twenty day of September also next to come And to Compleat and ffinish the hail remanent work for laying on the Rooffe therupon betwixt and the terme of Martimass in the year of our Lord One Thousand Sevend hundred years. FFOR THE WHICH CAUSES [sic] And on the other Part The said Charles Hope of Hoptoun with Consent of his saids Curators or quorum of them undersubscribing And they as taken burden on them for him In respect of his minority as said is Binds and Oblidges them their heirs Exers [sic] and successors whats somever To make payt to the said Tobias Bachope his heirs, Exers or assigneys of the summe of Twenty thousand merks Scots money [~1000 pounds sterling] As the agreed pryce for the forsaid hail work to be performed by the said Tobias as is abovementioned In manner and at the terms underwritten Viz The Summe of Two thousand five hundred Merks money of this realme at his entrie to the said work Two thousand five hundred merks Scots money forsd at the terme of Whitsunday next therfter, Two thousand five hundred merks money forsaid at the terme of Lambass therafter following, And the summe of Two thousand five hundred merks money forsd quarterly at each Quarter therafter, ay [always] and while the finishing of the said hail work and Compleat payment of the said hail pryce of Twenty thousand merks money forsd, with the summe of two hundred pounds money forsd of liquid at expenses for each Quarter's failzie [as? Note: above in Dalhousie, GD 45/17/769] mentioned, Together with the due & ordinar @rent [annual rent] of the forsaid pryce, after the rexite [sic; respective GD 45/17/769]

[1546] [sic] And the sd Tobias oblidges him to Leave to Hoptoun all the wall stones of the forsaid Quarrie belonging to Mannor which shall be winn during the tyme of the work over and above what sd Tobias Shall make use of for ye work [whereby?] declared to belong to Hoptoun wtout any pay t or consideration to be extien [sic] and usual Hoptoun may Carry away at any tyme as he shall have occasion and

quarterly termes or tymes of payment @ [above] written, As also to pay to the said Tobias Ten Bolls of meal in name of bounty at his entrie to the sd work over and above the sd pryce, And furder the said Charles Hope with Consent of his saids Curators Binds and oblidges him and his forsds to lay down materialls of stone, sand, and water in the most convenient places near the said work and to deliver the Number of Sise score trees [timber] wherof three score double and threescore single, And the number of Sise hundred Daills for Scaffolding, Which the said Tobias is to deliver back again to the said Charles at the end of the work, And for which the said Tobias is to Grant receipt and oblidgement to redeliver as he receives the samen, And the said Charles Hope is to furnish timber for Noggs and foot gangs for preventing the broking of the Scaffolding Daills, And Sicklike [sic] the sd Charles with the Consent forsd oblidges him to deliver to the said Tobias at his entrie to ye work the Number of Two Dozen of Shovells four water tubs, a Dozen of Morter buckets a dozen of water buckets, half a Dozen of Morter mills and a dozen of barrows wherof two to be three framed barrows All to be redelivered as said is And also to Sett up ane Convenient Lodge for hewing Capable to Contain threttie or fourtie workmen hewers And Sicklike to Provyde ane house for the said Tobias himself and his family to Live and dwell in from his Entrie to ye said work, till the finishing of the same And to Give and deliver to ye said Tobias the summe of five pounds sterling in place of the hail nails requisite to serve for Scaffolding from the tyme of his entry to ye end of the work And moreover The said Charles Hope with Consent forsd Binds and oblidges him and his forsaids To Cast the ground for founding of the forsd building upon his own proper Charges and expenses And the said Charles does hereby Give the benefit of the Choice of Such stones as are already winn or shall be winn out of the old Castle of Abercorne during the tyme of the sd work by the said Charles his own workmen which are proper for vaults or pends or hewen work within the house, Provyding always That none of the stones of the said Old Castle shall be made use off for any of the aisler work in the outsyde walls of the said Main house, Pavilions or office houses which are to be all of new Aisler from the Quarrie And Both the saids Partyes Binds and oblidges them hinc inde to others And the Partys failzier to pay to the Party observer or willing to observe the summe of [2000 pounds Dalhousie, GD 45/17/769] Scots money by and attour performance And for the More Security Both Partys Consent to the Registration hereof in the books of Councills & session or others competent To have the strength of Ane Decreit interpound thereto That Letters of horning on six days and others Exells needful May be direct hereupon in form as offirs And thereto Constitute Their Pre[sent]s &c: In witness whereof written be George Keith Servitor to Thomas Pringle writer to ye Signet Both the saids Parties have Subscrybed their presents Place, Day, month and year of God and written befor these witneses George Sherriff Servitor to said Charles Hope and the Said Thomas Pringle & George Keith

TOBIAS BACHOPE CHALS HOPE

THO PRINGLE, witness

GEO SHIRREFF, witness WM BRUCE, witness

MARGARETT HOPE

GEO KEITH, witness JT: HOPE consents

Appendix F:
Contract Betwixt the Earle of Annandale And Tobias Bachope, 1698

Att the Palace of Holyroodhouse The Sixtein Day of Ffebruary Jajvc & nynty Eight yeirs Itt is Contracted Agried and finally Ended betwixt the pairties following VIZ Ane noble and potent Earle William Earle of Annandale and Hartfell ON THE ONE PAIRT And Tobias Bachope meassone in Alloway ON THE OTHER PAIRT In maner following THATT IS TO SAY The said Tobias Bachope for the Causes aftermentioned bind and oblidges him his aires Exers and successors To build ane stone house att Craigihall of sixty four foot in length, fourtie six foot in breadth, and twenty eight high above ground, and six foot under ground, with all the stone partitiones stone stairs within and without the house and the number of ffiftein Concave Chimlayes, One Kitchin Chimlay, and two stovages, ffour Chimlay heads of Eight foot height above the roof in fine aisler work Caped lyke the Chimlay heads att Kinross with windows and doors according to the modell of wood and the draught signed by Sir William Bruce of Kinross of sufficient measure work in maner particularly afterspecified VIZ All the Outsyde of the house round the four sydes above the ground being twenty eight foots high of the finest sort of aisler [sic] work, The first seven foot high theirof in rustic Cutt stones, the first foott theirof being ane plinth, and above the uppermost of the seaven foot ane astragal which the soles of the windows are to lye upon, and all the rest of the walls fine plaine aisler closs bedded and so closs Joynted as the Lyme cannot appear or be seen, and smooth as any paper, of a foot high, Each course breaking bond exactly in the middle, The middle story windows of Eight foot high finished with proportionell Jonick [sic] architraves and attick Cornish on each window, breaking att the upper corners as usually architrave windows doe, with a plinth on the underend of the architrave resting upon the sole, which sole must stand off the plaine wall a little more than the projecture of the plinth under the architrave resting upon the astragal above the rustic; And the other windows in the ground and upper stories being thrie foot in height are to finish VIZ The undermost in rustic work breaking doune to the plinth according to the course of the rustic as itt runs round the astragall [?] and the uppermost windows being thrie foot high to finish with a plain face resting upon the other astragal ITEM The Cornish round the house under the sklaitts of compleat Dorick Cornish proportionall to twenty eight foot of height returning the two timpons upon the middle of each syde of the East and west sydes of the house And to Cutt and sett up a Coatt of arms with Supporters and mantlings in each timpani as they shall be delivered and extended in a draught theirof ITEM The said Tobias Bachope binds and obleidges him and his foresaids to make the Chimlays of the haill Chambers and Closetts and other rooms in hansome mouldings and concave Jambs such as those Att Kinross Consisting of thrie stones that is two Jambs and ane Lintle ITEM The Kitchin is to be volted The said noble Earle furnishing timber and paying the wrights for making the Conturies (?) thereto ITEM The said Tobias binds and obleidges him and his foresaids to make the stairs without the house from the Court and gardine to the Terrasse upon both sydes of the house ITEM the Stair from the terrasse to the Vestibule with rails pilasters and ballusters pletts and plinths as the saime is drawen and designed And to build ane terrass wall of thrie foot high above the court round the house ITEM THE SAID Tobias binds and obliedges him and his foresaids to Corbell under each Chimlay in the second and third stories with stones closs Joynted alse broad and long as may serve the length and breadth of each harth stone And Lastly The said Tobias binds and obleidges him and his foresaids to cast doune the Old house from top to bottome and with cair to preserve

the stones that are fore hewen work to be made use of in the new house to the best advantage and completely finish the saids new buildings outside and inside works in every pairt thereof alse weell named as not heirin particularly express in exact well hewen smooth and straight work in length breadth thickness of walls with their dimensions exactly and completely according to the said modell in all its pairts furnishing himselfe with sufficient measures barrowmen and all maner of Mennills [?] nails and scaffolding Except as it after specified And to sett up and charge to be donne and uphold the same till the work is completely finished with tubs buckets mortar mears shuffels and batters upon his own proper Charges expences And to Enter to the said work with a sufficient number of men betwixt and the ffirst day of March Jajvc & nynty eight yeirs instant FOR HE WHILKS CAUSES AND ON THE OTHER PAIRT The said noble Earle William Earle of Annandale heirby binds and obleidges him his airs exers and successors whatsomever to content and pay to the said Tobias Bachope his airs Exers or Assignies All and Haill the soume of Six thousand merks Scots money att the tymes and be the proportiones aftermentioned VIZ The soume of Ane thousand and two hundred merks money foresaid att the said Tobias his Entering to the work And the soume of Ane thousand and six hundred merks of the said pryce att the terme of Whitsunday next to come And the lyke soume of Ane thousand and six hundred merks of the said pryce betwixt and the terme of Lambass also next to come And the soume of ane other thousand and six hundred merks money foresaid In full and compleat payment and satisfaction of the abovewrytten haill soume of six thousand merks money foresaid att the perfyting and finishing the said stone work But longer delay with the soume of Ane hundred pounds money foresaid for ilk termes failzie Together also with the due and ordinar @rent of the foresaid princll soume yeirly termely and proportionally during the not payment theirof after the receive termes and tymes of payment of the same @wrind And also the said noble Earle Obleidges him and his foresaids to pay and deliver to the said Tobias the number and quantity of FFOUR bolls good and sufficient oat meal and that whenever the said Tobias shall requyre or desire the samen And alse the said noble Earl heirby binds and obleidges him and his foresaids to surmise and deliver to the said Tobias Bachope the number of Thretty double tries and thretty single tries and two hundred daills for building a lodge for the measons and for the use of scaffolding and footgangs for which the said Tobias is to grant except obleidging himself theirby to returne the soume again att the tyme the said house shall be built and finished in its stone work Except such of the daills as shall happen to be Cutt for footgangs and the lyke as also to give the said Tobias the use of the most convenient houses that are about the place for lodging himself and his workmen in during the said building And ffarder the saids Noble Earl binds and obleidges him and his foresaids to lay doune all materials as stone lyme sand water and the (?) mentioned att the [faded fold in paper] pay to the said Tobias the soume of ffourtein shilling Scots (?) for each workmen every day they shall be layed idle for want theirof and the said Noble Earle is to cause cast the ground and carry of the red And the said Tobias binds and obleidges him to send his servants to hew stones at the Quarrie for the ease of the carriadges as he shall be desired and required theirto by the said noble Earle or any having his order The said noble Earle furnishing timber for a lodge to the workmen The said timber being restored at the finishing of the work And also the said Tobias obleidges him to finish and perfyte the said measson work completely that itt may be fit for putting on and receaving the roof before the first of October next to come And the said Tobias is to cause riddle the lyme and sand and make the mortar upon his new expenses And the said noble Earle binds and obleidges him and his foresaids to provide and finish and cause lay sufficient Tools and tries for scaffolding as the work shall reqyre AND LASTLY Both the saids parties obleidges them and their foresadis to fulfill and performe the

promises to those under the pain and penalty of the soume of ANE THOUSAND POUNDS SCOTS measured while the party failzier obleidges them and their foresaids to pay to the pairty observer or willing to observe the promises in name of penalty in case of failzie And that by and attour the fulfilling theirof And for the more securitie both the saids pairties are intent and consents that their prts be (?) in the books of Counsell & Session or any other Judges books competent to receave the Strongth of ane dooritt to all Letters and Exells of harning and others needful may pass theirupon in forme as offeirs And therto Consitutes

Therefore In witness yrof both the saids pairties have subscribed these presents written be David Robertsone servitor to Robert Carstairs wryter to the Signett with their hands day moneth year and place coresaid before these witnesses the said Robert Carstairs and David Robertsone and John Kirkpatrick writer to the said Noble Earle

SIGNATURES OF ROBERT CARSTAIRS, JOHN KIRKPATRICK, DAVID ROBERTSONE, LORD ANNANDALE, AND TOBIAS BACHOPE

Appendix G:
Hopetoun House Building Timeline and an Approximation of Building Costs under William Bruce

As a cohesive, point-by-point timeline of the period of Hopetoun House's construction has never been created, the length of time that building activities occurred at the house has long been understood. Based on available documentation, construction was nearly continuous between Hopetoun's Bruce and Adam eras. Work on other edifices besides Hopetoun House (such as Abercorn Kirk) are included here as these buildings were meant to supplement and bolster the Hope family's status.

Timeline of the Construction of William Bruce's Designs for Hopetoun's Main House

1698

- Lady Margaret Hope commissions Hopetoun House. Building contract signed between Lady Margaret, Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, Sir William Bruce, and the mason, Tobias Bachope, on 29 December, 1698.

1699

- Bachope begins constructing the stone shell of Hopetoun House's main house.
- Enough was completed by the end of the year that the wright, Alexander Eizat, was able to begin his work at the main house.

1700

- Bachope finishes stone shell by end of year.
- Eizat continues his work.

1701

- Bachope makes some extensions and adjustments to the stone shell.
- Eizat continues his work.
- William Aitken, blacksmith, signed a contract wherein he agreed to carry out brass- and ironwork for the house.
- Joseph Forester begins plumbing work at the main hosue.

1702

- Basic stone shell of Hopetoun House definitely complete.
- Eizat continues work. What he would have completed at this point was most likely the main staircase and its decorative carving, the

wooden panelling of the balcony room, Lord and Lady Hopetoun's bedchambers, and some of the first-storey bedchambers.

- Forester continues plumbing work. Projects include gutters for the main house's east and west façades and pipes for the garden fountain.
- George Humphray, plasterer, signs a contract with Charles Hope to begin plasterwork at the main house.

1703

- Eizat continues working.
- Bachope begins the ornamental mason-work for the main house. He started with the main house's fenestration on the east façade and in the cupola.
- Thomas Warrander, painter, finishes his first set of projects (begun 1701). The locations included three rooms in the basement, the vestibule, a first-storey bedchamber and closet, the great stair, the balcony room, and Lord and Lady Hopetoun's apartments.
- First set of Philip Tideman paintings (12) imported from Holland to Hopetoun House. Three of these were placed in Lord Hopetoun's bedchamber.

1704

- Eizat continued working at Hopetoun.
- Bachope and other masons (including David Mather) work on the ornamental work of the east façade. This included the portico.
- Humphray completed the main house's plasterwork. This included any Classical ornamentation.
- Warrander continued painting at Hopetoun.
- 24 more Philip Tideman paintings brought to Hopetoun. Three of these were placed in Lady Hopetoun's bedchamber. These paintings depicted scenes from Classic literature.
- William Aitken carried out various blacksmith projects. He completed the iron baluster for the staircase leading from the terrace to the east façade portico. It is thus presumed that he completed the southern staircase baluster between 1699 and 1704.

1705

- Eizat continued working at Hopetoun. He fitted out panelling for the great dining room.
- Joseph Forester installed more gutters on the west façade and worked on installing the house's water sources.
- Bachope worked on terrace and vestibule staircases. He built the walls for the inner and outer courtyards.

1706

- Bachope and other masons worked on the garden entrance staircase and façade.
- David Burton, glazier, installed windows (sash and lozenge) around the main house.
- William Aitken continued working for the entirety of this period (1699-1706).
- Lady Hopetoun's apartment has definitely shifted from the southeast corner of the main house's central block to the south pavilion.

1707

- David Burton continued installing windows.
- William Aitken continued blacksmithing work.
- Charles Hope and David Mather signed a contract to build a new aisle, designed by William Bruce, for Abercorn Kirk on 11 March. This expansion was intended to modernise the small, medieval kirk and also provide a secluded and elevated space for the Hope family's private worship.
- William Eizat (Alexander Eizat's son) signed a contract 15 May, 1707, to initiate the woodwork for the aisle.
- David Burton installed the windows for the new aisle.

1708

- David Burton installs a few more windows at Abercorn Kirk and Hopetoun House's main house.
- Thomas Warrander paints Hopetoun House's entrance gate.

1709

- No work done

1710

- Some work carried out by William Eizat at the main house reaffirms that Lady Hopetoun's apartment shifted locations to the southern pavilion (the start of the south office house).

1711-1719

- Work carried out at the main house was decoration or maintenance during this period. The serious projects that were carried out at Hopetoun House had to do with its office houses, service areas, and landscape (both functional and organised).

Timeline of Documentation Pertaining to the Construction of William Bruce's Hopetoun House

There are a total of 191 documents pertaining to Hopetoun's construction listed here.

1698

- 29 December, 1698: Thomas Pringle, 'Contract betwixt the Laird of Hoptoun & his Curators and Tobias Bachope, 1698,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, Hopetoun House Papers Trust, Hopetoun House, South Queensferry, UK [HHPT]. Hopetoun House building contract signed between Charles Hope and his curators (Lady Margaret Hope, Archibald Hope) and their mason, Tobias Bachope. Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet, George Shirreff, George Keith, and William Bruce served as witnesses. See chapter five for more on this contract.
- 29 December, 1698: Tobias Bachope, 'Receipt of discharge 29 December 1698 Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £50 sterling/£600 Scots from Lady Margaret Hope

1699

- 1 March, 1699: Tobias Bachope began construction of Hopetoun House (this was the start date written into the aforementioned building contract)
- 28 March, 1699: Tobias Bachope, 'Nidrie the 28th of March 1699 years,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £30 sterling/£360 Scots from Lady Margaret Hope
    - 28 March, 1699: Tobias Bachope, 'Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £30 sterling/£360 Scots to Tobias Bachope
- 14 April, 1699: Tobias Bachope, 'Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £120 Scots to Tobias Bachope
- 27 April, 1699: Tobias Bachope, 'Niddrie Castle 27 April 1699,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £16.13s.4d sterling/£200 Scots from George Sherriff
    - 27 April, 1699: Tobias Bachope, 'Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,' NRAS 888/Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachop £16.13s.4d sterling/£200 for mason work.

- 13 May, 1699: Tobias Bachope, ‘Abercorn 13 May 1699,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £10 sterling/£120 Scots from George Sherriff
    - 13 May, 1699: Tobias Bachope, ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachope £10 sterling/£120 Scots for mason work.
- 16 May, 1699: ‘Abercorn 16 May 1699,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of 200 merks Scots from George Sherriff
    - 16 May, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachope £133.6s.8d Scots/200 merks for mason work.
- 25 May, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £20 sterling/£240 Scots to Tobias Bachope
- 29 May, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £1000 (Scots?) to Tobias Bachope
- 12 July, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £185.6s.8d (Scots?) to Tobias Bachope
- 18 July, 1699: ‘Receipt 18 July 1699 Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £18.6s.8d/£220 Scots from Lady Margaret Hope.
    - 18 July, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachope £20 sterling/£240 Scots for mason work.
- 19 July, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops receipts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £120 (Scots?) to Tobias Bachope
- 12 August, 1699: ‘Abercorn 12 August 1699,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of ~£15 ½ sterling/£185.6s.8d Scots from George Sherriff
- 14 August, 1699: ‘Abercorn 14 August, 1699,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £10 sterling/£120 Scots from George Sherriff
- 23 August, 1699: ‘Receipt Tobias Bachope 23 August 1699,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £40 sterling/£480 Scots from Lady Margaret Hope
    - 23 August, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £40 sterling/£480 Scots to Tobias Bachope
- 23 September, 1699: ‘Kimpart the 23 Septr 1699 Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £10 sterling/£120 Scots from James Campbell of Kimpunt

- 23 September, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachope £10 sterling/£120 Scots for mason work.

- 21 October, 1699: ‘Abercorn 21 October 1699 1,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, Hopetoun HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £25 sterling/£300 Scots from George Sherriff
  - 21 October, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachope £25 sterling/£300 Scots for mason work.
- 21 October, 1699: ‘Abercorn 21 October 1699 2,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of 250 merks Scots from George Sherriff
  - 21 October, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachope £166.13s.4d Scots/250 merks Scots for mason work.
- 8 November, 1699: ‘Receipt Tobias Bachope 8 November 1699,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for £5 sterling/£60 Scots from Lady Margaret Hope
  - 8 November, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff (servant to Charles Hope) paid £5 sterling/£60 Scots to Tobias Bachope
- 15 November, 1699: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 15 November 1699, Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £125 sterling/£1500 Scots from Lady Margaret Hope
- 22 November, 1699: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceedings ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. George Shirreff (servant to Charles Hope) paid ~£10 sterling/£124.7s Scots for wright work.
- Date unclear, 1699: ‘Writt of Mr Bachops recepts,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. George Sherriff paid Bachope £125.8s sterling/£1500 Scots for mason work.

1700

- 15 February, 1700: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. George Sherriff paid £480 Scots for wright work.
- 29 March, 1700: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 29 March 1700, Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £30 sterling/£360 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 8 April, 1700: Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £50 sterling/£600 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 31 May, 1700: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 31 May 1700, Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by

Tobias Bachope for payment of ~£31 sterling/£371.10s Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet

- 7 June, 1700: 'Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £240 Scots for wright work.
- 12 June, 1700: 'Receipt of Discharge, 12 June 1700, Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £100 sterling/ £1200 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 20 July, 1700: 'Receipt of Discharge, 20 July 1700, Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £50 sterling/£600 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 13 August, 1700: 'Receipt of Discharge, 13 August 1700, Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £60 sterling/£720 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 21 August, 1700: 'Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £240 Scots for wright work.
- 14 September, 1700: 'Receipt of Discharge, 14 September 1700, Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £50 sterling/£600 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 15 October, 1700: 'Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £480 Scots for wright work.
- 13 November, 1700: 'Receipt of Discharge, 13 November 1700, Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £50 sterling/£600 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 16 November, 1700: 'Receipt of Discharge, 16 November 1700, Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £50 sterling/£600 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 3 December, 1700: 'Receipt of Discharge, 3 December, Abercorn, Tobias Bachope,' NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for 10 bolls of meal—4 bolls, three firlots, 2 pecks from George Shirreff and five bolls, two pecks from James Black. This is in accordance with the building contract signed 29 December, 1698

1701

- 8 February, 1701: 'Acct of money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.

- 11 March, 1701: ‘Thomas Pringle, Contract between Thomas Pringle and William Aitken, smith, 11 March 1701,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. This contract was signed between Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet and Factor to Hopetoun, and William Aitken, blacksmith of Cannongate; George Keith, servitor to Pringle, acted as witness. Aitken was commissioned to carry out the brass- and ironwork for the main house and office houses of Hopetoun House. Interestingly, Lady Margaret Hope provided him with the patterns from which he would work. In addition to a £15 sterling down payment, Aitken was to be paid for each set of bands and locks he made for the doors and windows of Hopetoun House (also in sterling).
- 8 May, 1701: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.
- Course of June, 1701: ‘Accompt off Lead Come to ye house off Abercorn,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. This is an account of lead brought to Hopetoun that would ultimately have been used for the construction of house (i.e. plumbing work, etc.)
- 4 June, 1701: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 4 June 1701, Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £8.6s.8d sterling/£100 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 3 July, 1701: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 3 July 1701, Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £55.1s sterling/£660.13s.4d Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 3 July, 1701: ‘Receipts of Discharge Joseph Forester: Abercorn July ye 3d 1701,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester, plumber, for a payment of £4 sterling/£48 Scots from James Black.
- 15 July, 1701: ‘Receipts of Discharge Tobias Bachope: Abercorn 15 July 1701 1,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £5 sterling/£60 Scots and nails for scaffolding from James Black, servant to Hopetoun.
- 15 July, 1701: ‘Receipts of discharge Tobias Bachope: Abercorn 15 July 1701 2,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for a payment of £35 sterling/£420 Scots from James Black.
- 1 August, 1701: ‘Receipts of Discharge Joseph Forester: Abercorn Agust ye ffirst 1701,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester for a payment of £6 sterling/£
- 21 August, 1701: ‘Receipt of Discharge 21 August 1701 Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £25 sterling/£300 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 21 August, 1701: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.

- 10 October, 1701: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 10 October 1701, Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £50 sterling/£600 Scots from James Black, servant to Hopetoun
- 5 November, 1701: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.
- 10 November, 1701: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 10 November 1701, Tobias Bachope,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for payment of £66.13s.4d/£800 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet
- 26 December, 1701: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 26 December 1701, Abercorn, Joseph Forester,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester for the payment of £5 sterling/£60 Scots from James Black, servant to Hopetoun.
- 27 December, 1701: ‘Acct of Severall particulars at Abercorn preceedings Decr 1701’ and receipt of discharge by Alexander Eizatt. NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. Eizatt recorded the wright work he conducted at Hopetoun House during December, 1701. The price of this work came to £5.12s (whether this was sterling or Scots is unclear).
- Date unclear, 1701: ‘Acct of Aditionall Mason work at the houses of Abercorn not Containd in Contract all which is finished preceding the 1st 1701,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 626, HHPT. This building account details additional work Tobias Bachope carried out at Hopetoun House in addition to what he agreed to do in the 1698 building contract. Examples of projects carried out were an expansion of the office houses, an increase in size of the stairs in the pavilions from three feet to four, the installation of eight windows on the west side of the office houses, the installation of two windows on the south end of the south office house, and the construction of a fireplace in the wash house. The extra work listed in this account came to £937.13s.9d Scots

1702

- 4 February, 1702: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun houses preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.
- 23 March, 1702: ‘Accomptt off Lead come to ye house off Abercorn,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Account of lead brought to Hopetoun (539 stones of lead).
- 10 April, 1702: ‘Accomptt off Lead come to ye house off Abercorn,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Account of further lead brought to Hopetoun (575 stones 1 pound of lead).
- 13 April, 1702: ‘Receipt of Discharge, Joseph Fforester Plumber 13 April 1702,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge from Joseph Forester for a payment of thirty bars of lead

(204 stone) from George Shirreff. With the addition of 14 bars more, the lead was valued at £339.12s.

- 6 May, 1702: 'Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.
- 15 June, 1702: 'Accomptt off Lead come to ye house off Abercorn,' NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Account of further lead brought to Hopetoun (1168 stones).
- 17 June, 1702: 'Contract betwixt the Laird of Hoptoun and George Humphray plaisterer, 1702,' NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. Contract between Charles Hope of Hopetoun and his curators and George Umphray [Humphray], plaisterer. George Keith, servitor to Thomas Pringle, and William Bruce acted as witnesses. George Umphray agreed to do the plaster work for the ceilings, cornice work, astragal mouldings, and walls of the main house, as well as in the basement and office houses.
- 29 July, 1702: 'Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceeding ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.
- August, 1702: 'Accomptt off Lead come to ye house off Abercorn,' NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Account of lead brought to Hopetoun (1093 stones 4 pounds of lead).
- 23 September, 1702: 'Accomptt off Lead come to ye house off Abercorn,' NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Account of lead brought to Hopetoun (1113 stones 1 pound lead bars, 72 stones lead pipe).
- 31 October, 1702: 'Receipt of Discharge Joseph Fforester plummer, Oct 31 1702,' NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester for a payment of £75.11s.6d sterling/£906.18s Scots from James Black
- 12 November, 1702: 'Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.
- 24 December, 1702: 'Receipt of discharge, Tobias Bachope, 24 December 1702,' NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Tobias Bachope for a payment of ~£12.10s sterling/£149.15s Scots from James Black
- December, 1702: 'Accomptt off Lead Come to ye house off Abercorn,' NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Further account of lead brought to Hopetoun for work to be done (599 stones, 12 pounds)
- Over the course of 1701 and 1702: 'Charge off Lead Recived by Joseph Forester plumer in Abercorn, stons & pounds, £ S d,' circa 1702, NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. This is an account of how Joseph Forester used and implemented lead at Hopetoun House. The cost came to £180 in 1701 and £906.18s in 1702.

1703

- January, 1703: ‘Accomptt off Lead Come to ye house off Abercorn,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Alexander Eizatt paid 37 stone four pound of lead.
- 4 February, 1703: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £360 Scots for wright work.
- 1 April, 1703: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £420 Scots for wright work.
- Between June, 1701 and March, 1703: ‘An Accompt of lead work done att ye house of Abercorne since June 1701 till march 1703 as foll,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. This is an account of lead work conducted between 1701 and 1703. This includes the casting and installation of 40 ell of large pipe for the fountain head and the casting of four square pipes/gutters for the roofs on the east and west sides of the main house.
- 6 June, 1703: ‘Delivd an accompt to the Honb Charles Hope of Hopton June 6th 1703 for Lead Work done at Hopton house and there remains due to me upon balance of the same thirty four Pounds twelve shillings four Pence Sterling (£34.12s.4d),’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. This account lists the prices of lead work projects conducted at Hopetoun House’s kitchen, wine cellar, brew house, pantry, wash house, and dog house at that date.
- 17 June, 1703: ‘Receipt of Discharge, Joseph Forester plumber, 17 June 1703,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester for the price of £20 sterling/£240 Scots from George Keith.
- Circa June, 1703: ‘Recd of Lead from George Shirriff att Severall tymes for ye use of Abercorne House: 5697 stones 1 pound,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Account of the value of lead used Hopetoun House by this point. The value came to approximately £85.11s.6d.
- 9 July, 1703: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. James Black paid £300 Scots for wright work.
- 6 September, 1703: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. James Black paid £300 Scots for wright work.
- 31 September, 1703: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 31 September 1703, Joseph Forester plumber 1,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester for the price of £10 sterling/£120 Scots from Thomas Pringle, Writer to the Signet.
- 31 September, 1703: ‘Receipt of Discharge, 31 September 1703, Joseph Forester plumber 2,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester for the price of ~£1.10s sterling/£15.7s Scots from James Black.

- 12 November, 1703: ‘The measure of Masone Work wrought in ye Doge house and dyks att Abercorn Belonging to the Earle of Hoptoun Done be Tobias Baick [Bachope] Masone,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. This document lists mason work conducted by Tobias Bachope at Hopetoun House’s dog house, stables, cherry garden, dung court, hay loft, and the main house staircase. The measurement of all the work done came to 2,294’6”.
- December, 1703: ‘Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work Done at Hoptone house, for The Right Honourable the Earle of HOptone by Thomas Warrander painter in Edr,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. This account lists paint jobs carried out at Hopetoun House between June, 1701 and December 1703; the cost amounted to £1760.4s Scots. Project locations included rooms of the ground story, the balcony room, Lord Hopetoun’s bedchamber and antechamber, Countess Hopetoun’s bedchamber and dressing room, the south (iron) staircase, the staircases linking the main house to the office houses, the dog house, the office houses, the byres, and the carriages.
- Date Unclear, 1703: ‘Ane Acompt of Masone work wrought att ye Doge house stable and Dykes att Abercorn Done be Tobias Baick [Bachope] Masone,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. This account lists the price of mason work conducted at the Hopetoun House dog house, stables, cherry garden, dung court, hay loft, garden fountain, and main house staircase in 1703. The total cost of this work came to £1851.12s.8d (presumably Scots).

1704

- 19 January, 1704: ‘Ane acompt iron work for the right honorabel The Eral of Hoptoun to the house of Hoptoun wrought be me William Aitken Smith the 24 Day of August 1703,' NRAS/888 Bundle 627, HHPT. Account of iron and brass work carried out by William Aitken between 24 August, 1703 and 11 December, 1703. Though Aitken appears to sign off on the bottom of this on 19 January, 1703, he probably made a clerical error.
- 19 January, 1704: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £1080 Scots for wright work.
- 1 May, 1704: ‘An accompt of Work wrought to the Earle of Hopton in Hopton house by me Geo Humphrays Plaistrer from ye 16 day of March 1703 to ye 1 day of May 1704,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account lists the prices of plasterwork conducted at the main house of Hopetoun House during the above period. The cost of the work came to £1003.12s.10d (presumably Scots). Humphray received the full payment for his work on 1 May, 1704.
- 20 May, 1704: ‘Accomptt of work wrought to the Earell of Hoptoun in the year 1704. Meason work wroght by Tobias Bachup tie ye 20 off May 1704. 2 accompt to be considered. This already

considered & found to be included in ye full & 2d accompts,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account lists the cost of mason work projects for the first half of 1704. Work was conducted on Hopetoun House's vestibule stair, dog house, office houses, garden entrance, coach house, and portico.

- Circa August, 1704: 'Ane acompt of iron work wroght to the right Honorabel the Erale of Hoptoun for Hoptoun hous wroght be me William Aitken Smith,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account of brass- and ironwork began on 16 May, 1704. It turned into a list of horseshoes crafted and put on horses between 2 June, 1704 and 2 August, 1704.
- 12 September, 1704: 'Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. James Black paid £300 Scots for wright work.
- October, 1704: 'Ane acompt of iron and bras work to the right honnorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken Smith begun Octo 1704,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account lists brass- and ironwork conducted at Hopetoun House starting in October, 1704.
- December, 1704: 'William Aittkens Acomptt of Smith work, 1704, William Aitken smith grants me to be fuly payd of the within written acompt of the 15 day o august 1704 as witness my hand William Aitken,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account of brass- and ironwork begins on 12 December, 1704 and does not given a concluding date.
- December, 1704: 'Accompt of Painting Work done in Hopetoun House to the Right Honourable the Earle of Hoptoune By Thomas Warrander painter in Edr,' NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. Account of paint jobs carried out at Hopetoun during the year 1704 that amounted to £602.4s Scots. Project locations included the main staircase and garden-front balcony/portico, the cupola, the two side staircases of the main house, Lady's closet, the vestibule, various park gates, the wash house, and the office house courts.
- December, 1704: 'Accompt of Additionall Work Since,' from 'Accompt of the Painting, Guilding and Collouring work Done at Hoptone house, for The Right Honourable the Earle of HOptone by Thomas Warrander painter in Edr,' NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. This account listed additional paint jobs carried out at Hopetoun House during the year 1704 and amounted to £283.16s Scots. Project locations included the nursery, servants' rooms, furniture in Countess Hopetoun's bedchamber, the dog house, Lord Hopetoun's bedchamber and closet, and the carriages and coaches.
- 30 December, 1704: 'Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of Hoptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous,' NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This document lists mason-work projects carried out at Hopetoun House's stable, dog house, "terrace," vestibule staircase, office houses, inner and outer

courtyards, garden walls, “goyll” house, hen house, summer seats at that date.

- Between 1703 to 1704: ‘Ane acompt off work wrought to the Right Honnourabell the Earell of Hoptoun by Tobias Bachope in the year 1703 and 1704 as followes,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This document records the prices of mason-work projects conducted at Hopetoun House’s “terrace,” as well as at the staircase, wash house, and “goyll” (fish?) house. It also lists the day wages for Bachope’s employees between 20 May, 1704 and 30 December, 1704.

1705

- 22 January, 1705: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. James Black paid £39 Scots for wright work
- 21 April, 1705: ‘Hopton House Aprill 21st 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by Joseph Forester for the price of £1.13s.4d sterling/£20 Scots from James Black, servitor to Charles Hope.
- 18 June, 1705: ‘Acct of Money pd for Wright work at Hoptoun house preceedign ye 1st of August 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Thomas Pringle paid £240 Scots for wright work.
- 9 July, 1705: ‘Delivered an account to the Honble the Earl of Hopton Oct 6th 1703 came to £27.11s.4d,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. Note: the date in the title of the account is misconceiving. This account records a receipt of discharge from 6 November, 1703. It also lists the prices of leadwork projects conducted at the Hopetoun House stables, south office house, spaniel and hawk courts, wash house, roofs, water basins, and balcony between 31 March, 1704 and 9 July 1705.
- 30 November, 1705: ‘The Measure of Masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptoun house done be Tobias Bachope masone,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This document records the measurements of mason-work projects carried out at Hopetoun House during the second half of 1705. This list included the house’s cherry gardens, inner and outer courtyards, “gyll” house, office houses, hen house, garden fountain, and stables. The total measurement came to 3,596’3”.
- June, 1701 to December, 1705: ‘An accompt of Lead Work done at the house of Abercorn from June 1701 untill Decr 1705 as foll,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account lists leadwork carried out at Hopetoun House over the course of four years until December, 1705. This account lists projects carried out at Hopetoun House’s stables, kitchen, wine cellar, brew house, pantry, wash house, dog house, spaniel and hawk courts, garden fountain, and main house facades. The cost of this work came to £172.5s.5d (Scots, presumably).

- December, 1705: ‘Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by William Aitken Smith,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account lists the brass- and ironwork crafted by William Aitken between 22 October, 1705 and 1 December, 1705. The total cost of this period of work came to £117.5s (presumably Scots).
- 3 December, 1705: ‘More: Ane acomptt of days wages wrought about the houes since Jeanewar 1705 to the thread of December as folloues,’ from ‘Doubell of the acomptts given in to the Earell of Hoptoun on the 30th of Deccember 1704 by Tobias Bachope as ffollous,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account is a continuation of the mason-work account of 30 December, 1704. It lists the prices of projects conducted at Hopetoun House’s main stair, entrance hall, stable, kennel, coach house, office houses, wash house, and kitchen yard during 1705.
- 5 December, 1705: ‘The Measure of masone work wrought att ye Earle of Hoptouns house done be Tobias Bachope Masone Deser 5th 1705,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This account records the measurement of mason work conducted at Hopetoun at the end of 1705. The projects listed included work on the “terrace walk,” vestibule staircase, “goyll” house, and washing house.
- 22 December, 1705: ‘Acct of wright work at Hoptoun House from the 30th July to 22 Decr 1705 By Alexr Eizatt,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 628, HHPT. This document lists woodwork projects carred out at Hopetoun House’s north dining room, nursery, stables, closet (belonging to Lady Henrietta), and bake court between July and December, 1705. The total price came to £61.16s (presumably Scots).

1706

- 1 January, 1706: ‘Ane acompt of iron & bras work for the right honorabel The Earl of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken Smith begun January first 1706,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account lists brass- and ironwork crafted by William Aitken between 1 January, 1706 and 18 May, 1706.
- 12 January, 1706: ‘An accompt of Work done since the Deilivery of this gernall accompt Jan: 12th: 1706,’ from ‘An accompt of Lead Work done at the house of Abercorn from June 1701 untill Decr 1705 as foll,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This addendum account to the one from June, 1701 to December, 1705 records further leadwork carried out at Hopetoun House over the course of 1706 (beginning in January). It also records the amount of lead received at Hopetoun for the purpose of these projects.
- 9 February, 1706: ‘Accompt of Glass windows mended att Hoptoune house ye 9th of Ffebr 1706 by Mr Burtons Brt,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This document records windows- and glasswork carried out at Hopetoun House by 9 February, 1706. The document

lists projects carried out at Hopetoun House's office houses, terrace, pavilions, stables, and kennels.

- 15 May, 1706: 'Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honorabel the Eral of Hpotoun by me William Aitken smith May 15 1706,' NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This document lists brass- and ironwork crafted by William Aitken between 15 May, 1706 and 7 August, 1706.
- 13 September, 1706: 'Ane acompt of iron work for the right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken begun the 13 day of Septem 1706,' NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account lists brass- and ironwork crafted by William Aitken between 13 September, 1706 and 14 November, 1706.
- Circa September, 1706: 'Accompt The Earle of Hoptoun to David Burton Glasier in Edr,' NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This document first includes three accounts: one from 31 December, 1703, another from 8 September, 1704, and the last from 31 August, 1705. The cost of each account totalled £650.6s.8d, £506.6s.8d, and £367.10s (Scots, presumably), respectively. Thereafter, the account records projects carried out between 23 January, 1706 and 6 September, 1706. Burton carried out this work at Hopetoun House's cupola, offices, coach house, garden avenue, north staircase, kitchen, falconer's room, stables, and dog house. The cost of this final account came to £310.0s.2d (Scots, presumably).
- 9 October, 1706: 'Ane Acompt of new windows and windows mendet in Hoptoun House in October the 9 1706,' NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account records window- and glasswork carried out at Hopetoun House by 9 October, 1706. The document lists projects carried out at Hopetoun House's garden room, cupola, pavilions, kitchen, office houses, dog house, and stables.
- 20 November, 1706: 'Receipt of discharge, William Aitken, 20 November 1706,' NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by William Aitken. After stating that Charles Hope had paid up front for future projects, this receipt of discharge lists Aitken's upcoming projects.
- 13 December, 1706: 'Receipt of discharge for plumbing work, John Karnaby, 13 December, 1706,' NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by John Karnaby for the price of £5 sterling/£60 Scots from Charles Hope.
- 23 December, 1706: 'Accomptt of days wroght to the Earill of Hoptoun since the 19 of Feberuar 1706 to ye 23 of December 1706 as follous,' NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account lists the days spent at every mason-work project over the course of 1706. The project locations include the office houses, the "terrace" walk, the cherry gardens, the façade, the garden façade portico, the garden entrance, a dog kennel, a kitchen yard, the summer seats, the slaughter house, the hen house, the laigh rooms, the porter lodge, a closet in the south office house, the dog house, the coal house, and a gate at Niddry Castle.

- Date unspecified, 1706: ‘Ane Accompt of foots of heuen work wrought to the Earell of Hoptoun by Tobias Bachope in the year 1706 as follous,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account lists mason-work projects carried out at Hopetoun House over the course of 1706. Bachope carried out projects at the garden entrance, the garden façade, the garden portico, the kitchen yard, and the outer courtyard. The total measurement of these projects came to 2,596’11”2 parts; the total price of these projects came to £982.1s.10d (Scots, presumably).
- Date unspecified, 1706: ‘The accompt of mason work wrought att Hoptoun house by Tobias Bachope masone in ye year 1706,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account lists the measurement of mason-work carried out by Bachope during 1706. Bachope worked on Hopetoun House’s garden entrance, the gates and wall of the principal courtyard, the summer seats, the kitchen garden, the office houses, the slaughter house, and the kitchen yard. The measurements of these projects totalled 3,495’8” and cost £1165.4s.4 2/3d in total.

1707

- January, 1706 to January, 1707: ‘Ane account of trees and thorns delivered to the Earle of Hoptoun Jan 1706 and Jan 1707,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account lists the number of trees and their prices brought to Hopetoun House during the aforementioned period. This bill was paid off by 16 May, 1707.
- 11 March, 1707: ‘Charles Hope and David Mather, 11 March, 1707, Contract for work on Abercorn Kirk, written by William Lamb,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT. This contract was signed between Charles Hope and David Mather, mason; David Page acted as witness and William Lamb acted as both writer and witness. David Mather was commissioned to build Bruce’s design for the aisle on the north side of Abercorn Kirk. In return, Mather would receive £40 Scots for the demolition of the old north wall and its replacement with a large arch. He would be paid an additional £17 Scots for each rood of the new, expanded aisle. Finally, he would also be paid £0.4s.6d for each rood of smooth ashlar work that would cover the rough walls and £0.2s.6d for each foot of floor pavement he installed. See more in chapter five.
- 15 May, 1707: ‘Contract between Charles Hope and William Eizat for Abercorn Kirk, written by Thomas Pringle, 15 May, 1707,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT. This contract was signed between Charles Hope and William Eizat, wright. James Black, servitor to the First Earl and Thomas Pringle, acted as witness. According to the contract, Eizat agreed to craft the woodwork for William Bruce’s new aisle in the said church. This document also notes that Eizat’s father, Alexander Eizat, carried out the woodwork at Hopetoun House.
- 16 May, 1707: ‘Ane acompt of iron work for the right honourable the Eral of Hoptoun wroght & furnished by me William Aitken begun May 16 1707,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account records

brass- and ironwork carried out by Aitken between 16 May, 1707 and December, 1707.

- 12 October, 1707: ‘Acomptt the Earll of Hoppon [sic] to David Burton Glasier, 12 Octr 1707,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT. This brief account lists the glasswork projects completed by Burton at Abercorn Kirk by that date. The total cost came to £145.11s (Scots, presumably).
- 13 December, 1707: ‘Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hopton wroght by me William Aitken Smith,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This account lists the brass- and ironwork during the second half of 1707.
- December, 1707: ‘Acompt the hail of Hoppton as David Burton,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 629, HHPT. This account records glasswork done at Hopetoun House between 18 February, 1707 and 12 December, 1707. Areas in which Burton carried out projects include the stables, dog house, men (woman?) house, and office houses. The total price of the year’s projects came to £363.5s.4d (Scots, presumably.
- Date unclear, 1707: ‘An acomptt of days wages wrought to the Earell of Hopetoun by David Mather and his men in the year 1707,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT. This account lists the daily prices of mason work performed at Abercorn Kirk, Hopetoun House, its various offices, and its landscape by David Mather and his employees in 1707. The total of daily wages came to £44.1s.4d.

1708

- 8 January, 1708: ‘Ane accomptt of Masson work wrought To the Earell of Hoptoun by David Mather at the Ayell and other works in the year 1707 as folloues,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT. This building account lists mason-work projects carried out at Abercorn Kirk, Hopetoun House, the stable, and the kitchen yard during 1707. The total price of that year’s work came to £480.1s.6d.
- 24 January, 1708: ‘Acompt the Eairll of Hopton to David Burton 24 Janry 1708,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT. This account lists glasswork carried out at Hopetoun House beginning the aforementioned date. Project locations included the charter room, the kitchen, the cellars, the pantry, the “second table room,” the bakehouse, the cupola, the latter meit room, the nursery, the gentleman (of the stable’s?) room, the wardrobe, the chaplain’s room, the footman’s room, the stables, the dog house, Kirkliston Kirk, Abercorn Kirk, and the great dining room. The cost of these projects totalled £221.7s.10d (Scots, presumably). The receipt of discharge for this account dates March, 1709.
- 29 March, 1708: Receipt of discharge by David Burton (written by William Robertson), glazier, for an unspecified price, NRAS/888 Bundle 625, HHPT. However, this receipt does confirm that Charles Hope had paid for all the work conducted by Burton up to that date.

- September, 1708: ‘Accompt of all the painting work don By Thomas Warrander at Hopton house, & ye Church summe Janry 1706 To Septr 1708,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. Account of paint jobs conducted from 1706 to 1708 that amounted to £385.18s Scots. Project locations included the inner court, the portico staircase, the summer seats, the kitchen, the coalhouse, the butcher house, the cherry gardens, the kennel, the hawk house, the office houses, the balcony room, the stables, the great dining room, the garden room, the cupola, and Abercorn Kirk.

1710

- 1 January, 1710: ‘Houpton Hous January ye forst Jajvjct and Tene In Acompt of Wright Work bee Willm Eizat Joyner,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT. This account lists woodwork conducted by William Eizat starting the aforementioned date. Eizat carried out projects at Lady Henrietta’s dressing room, the second storey bed chamber, the garden room, another bed chamber, and the coalhouse. The cost of this account came to £129.10s.9d.
- 28 January, 1710: ‘Receipt of Discharge David Mather 28 January 1710,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT. Full receipt of discharge by David Mather from Charles Hope.
- 23 March, 1710: ‘Receipt of Discharge William Eizat 23 March 1710,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT. Full receipt of discharge by William Eizat; payment received from Charles Hope.
- 31 December, 1710: ‘Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honorabel the Eral of Hoptoun at Hoptoun hous wroght by me William Aitken from the 21 of June 1710 to the last of Decem 1710,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 630, HHPT. This account lists brass- and ironwork during the second half of 1710. Aitken signed the receipt of discharge 1 January, 1711.

1711

- 1 January, 1711: ‘Ane Acompt of iron work for the Right Honerabel the Eral of Hoptoun begun Jan 1711,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This document lists the brass- and ironwork crafted by Aitken between 1 January, 1711 and 20 January, 1711.
- 13 January, 1711: ‘A note of Ledd Wourk wrought by the Order of the Right Honerable The Lord Hopton by John Carnaby Plumbr,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This account records the value of lead given to John Carnaby for future plumbing work.
- 21 May, 1711: ‘Ane accomptt of work wrought To the Right Honourable the Earell of Hoptoun by me William Conburgh Mason sinc 30th of June 1710 to the 21st of May 1711,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This account records mason work conducted at Hopetoun House between 1710 and 1711. Project locations included the dog

house, the great staircase, the cupola, and the keep at Niddry Castle. The total cost of this account came to £706.15s.8d.

- 7 September, 1711: 'Contract betwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather, 1711,' NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This contract was signed between Charles Hope and David Mather, with William Bradful and John Lawson acting as witnesses. Charles Hope commissioned David Mather to build the gardener's house next to the kitchen yard. The contract included a clause that demanded Mather's mason-work match the quality of that of the dog kenel and stable. In return, Charles Hope was to pay Mather £9 Scots for each rood that he constructed, as well as £3 Scots for installing the floor pavement.
- 28 September, 1711: 'Ane acompt Glass worke wrought To The Right honnorable the Erall of Houptoun at Houptoune House since the 28th of Septr 1711 By James Craufoord glasier,' NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This account of glasswork describes glasswork projects at Midhope Castle. The cost of this account came to £25.9s Scots.
- 25 October, 1711: 'Receipt of Discharge, William Cowburgh, 25 October, 1711,' NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. Full receipt of discharge by William Cowburgh; payment made by Charles Hope.
- 11 December, 1711: 'Receipt of Discharge and Brief Account of Work done, David Mather, 11 December 1711,' NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by David Mather for the price of £69.10s Scots from Joseph Gordon. This account also affirms that Mather constructed the gardener's house.
- 13 December, 1711: 'Accompt By The Right Honorable The Erale of Hoptoun To John Warrander in Edr 1710 1711,' NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. An account of paint jobs carried out and discharged by December, 1711. Project locations included the cupola, the dog house, the minister's house, the deer park gate, the vestibule, and various seats in the garden. The total of this account came to £20.6s sterling.
- 13 December, 1711: 'Accompt Be The Earle of Hoptoun To Thomas Miller, 1711,' NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. An account of slate-work carried out at Hopetoun House amounting to £116 Scots. Project locations included the dog house, the dovecote at Society Hill, the stables of Society Hill, and the gardener's house.

1712

- 28 January, 1712: 'Janry 28th 1712, Receipt of Discharge,' from 'A note of Ledd Wourk wrought by the Order of the Right Honerable The Lord Hopton by John Carnaby Plumbr,' NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. The receipt of discharge for the 1711 lead account.
- 20 November, 1712: 'In Acount of Wright Work to the Honerable the Eral of Houpton be William Eizat Joynnir Glou and Nels for Arched Bemac, November 20 1712,' NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This account records woodwork projects crafted by Eizat at Hopetoun House's vestibule. He also built the organ at Abercorn Kirk.

- 24 December, 1712: ‘Ane acompt of iron work for the Right Honorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken begun the 14 of December 1711,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This account records brass- and ironwork carried out by William Aitken between 14 December, 1711 and 24 December, 1712.

1713

- 8 October, 1713: ‘Discharge the Right Honourabel the Erale of Hoptoun by John Warrander, 1713,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. Receipt of discharge by John Warrander for £5 sterling from the First Earl of Hopetoun.

1714

- 1714: ‘Ane acompt of iron work for the Right honorabel the Eral of Hoptoun wroght be me William Aitken begun Jan 1714 til Jan 1715,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. Account of brass- and ironwork crafted by William Aitken between 1 January, 1714 and 1 January, 1715. Aitken signed the receipt of discharge for this account on 3 August, 1715.
- 1 January, 1714: ‘ane acompt of iron work for the Right honerable the Eral of Hoptoun wroght by me William Aitken smith this from the first of Jan 1713 to the first of Jan 1714,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 631, HHPT. This account records brass- and ironwork crafted by William Aitken between 1 January, 1713 and 1 January, 1714. The receipt of discharge for this account was signed by Aitken 9 January, 1714.
- 3 April, 1714: ‘Agreement btwixt the Earl of Hoptoun and David Mather Mason in Kirkhouses,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. This contract was signed between Charles Hope and David Mather, with James Gray, John Gordon, and William Bradful acting as witnesses. Charles Hope commissioned David Mather to construct oxen byres next to the dog kennel yard. In return, Charles Hope was to pay Mather £1 Scots per foot of the byres’ construction.

1715

- 1715: ‘Accompt of Iron Work wrought to the right Honnorable The Earle of Hoptoun Be George Livingstone Smith 1715,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. This account records brass- and ironwork carried out by William Aitken between 8 December, 1714 and the end of 1715. Aitken signed the receipt of discharge for this account 1 January, 1716.
- 7 April, 1715: ‘Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to John Warrander, 1715,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. This account lists paint jobs carried out in April, 1715. Project locations included hen house and garden parlour.

- 9 April, 1715: ‘A not of Leid wourk wrought for the Right Honerable Lord Hopton by John Carnaby Plumber,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. This document records leadwork for the roof carried out by John Carnaby. Carnaby signed the receipt of discharge for this account 9 April, 1715.

1716

- 20 February, 1716: ‘Accompt of meason work wrought To the Earle of Hoptoune, David Mather Masone,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. This account records mason-work carried out by David Mather, including at the byre and the hen house. The cost of these projects came to £422.0s.10d Scots, and Mather signed the receipt of discharge for this account on 20 February, 1716.
- 6 November, 1716: ‘Building Account, November 6th 1716, John Carnaby,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 632, HHPT. Account of leadwork wrought for Hopetoun House.

1717

- January, 1717: ‘Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston Smith in Society, Janry 1717, sterline,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account of brass- and iron work was completed by George Livingston beginning on the aforementioned date.
- Janry, 1717: ‘Accot the Earl of Hoptoun to Geo Livingston, Janry 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This document lists the amount Charles Hope paid George Livingston in January, February, March, and April, 1717. He paid £2.4s sterling, £1.2s sterling, £1.2s sterling, and £0.17s.2d sterling, respectively.
- 2 Mrch, 1717: ‘A note of Ledd wourk wrought by the order of The Rgt Honerable Earell of Hopton,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account records plumbing work carried out by John Carnaby; he signed the receipt of discharge for this account on the aforementioned date.
- April, 1717: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith in Society, April 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for brass- and ironwork for the month of April, 1717 amounted to £0.17s.2d sterling.
- May, 1717: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith in Society, May 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for brass- and ironwork for the month of May, 1717 amounted to £1.16s.10d sterling.
- June, 1717: ‘Accot the Earl of Hoptoun to Geo Livinston smith for humbs, June 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for brass- and ironwork for the month of June, 1717 amounted to £0.4s.7d sterling.
- June, 1717: ‘Accot the Earl of HOptoun to George Livinston smith June 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for

brass- and ironwork for the month of June, 1717 amounted to £10.3s.2/3d sterling.

- July, 1717: ‘Acott the Earl of Hoptoun to Geo Livingston for Him by, July 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the month of July, 1717 amounted to £3.10s sterling.
- July, 1717: ‘Accott the E: of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith in society, July 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the month of July, 1717 amounted to £2.3s.0d.1/2fa sterling.
- September, 1717: ‘Acott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith in Septr 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the month of September, 1717 amounted to £0.17s.1d.2/3dfa sterling.
- October, 1717: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith in Society, October 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the month of October, 1717 for the month of October, 1717, amounted to £0.17s.7d.1/2fa sterling.
- November, 1717: ‘Accot the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith at Society, November 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for iron work for the month of November, 1717 amounted to £1.18s.4d.1/2fa sterling.
- December, 1717: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to Geo Livingston, December 1717, George Livistons accts from Mar 1717 to Janry 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the month of December, 1717 amounted to £1.14s.1d sterling.
- 13 December, 1717: ‘Account the Earle of Hoptoun to David Mather Mason,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account lists mason-work projects carried out by David Mather preceding the aforementioned date. Project locations included the dog kennel, the garden pond, the hen house, dovecote, and partridge house. Mather signed the receipt of discharge for £140 Scots on 13 December, 1717.
- Date unclear, 1717: ‘Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livinston smith in Society, 1717,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This cost account for brass- and iron-work totalled £1.2s sterling.

1718

- February and March, 1718: ‘Accot the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith at Society, February and March, 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the months of February and March, 1718 amounted to £2.5s.2d.1/2fa sterling.
- April, 1718: ‘April 1718’ from ‘Accot the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith at Society, February and March, 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork from April, 1718 (which is an addendum to the previous account) amounted to £3.9s.5d.1/2fa sterling.

- May, 1718: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingstoun smith in Society in May,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, Hopetoun House Papers Trust, HHPT. This account for ironwork from May, 1718 amounted to £0.14s.10d.2/3fa sterling.
- June and July, 1718: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingstoun smith in Society in the months of June & July 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork from June and July, 1718 amounted to £1.12s.9d.2/3fa sterling.
- August, 1718: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith at Society, August 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for August, 1718 amounted to £1.8s.7d.1/2fa sterling.
- September, 1718: ‘Accott the Earl of Hopton to George Livinston smith September 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for September, 1718 amounted to £2.7s.8d.1/3fa sterling.
- October, 1718: ‘Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingstoun smith in Society October 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This is an account for ironwork for October, 1718. It does not include prices.
- November, 1718: ‘Accot the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingstoun in November 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for November, 1718 amounted to £0.17s.7d sterling.
- December, 1718: ‘Accompt the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingstoun smith at Society in December 1718,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for December, 1718 amounted to £7.15s.3d.1/2fa sterling.

1719

- January, 1719: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston smith, January 1719,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the month of January, 1719 amounted to £2.1s.4d.1/2fa sterling.
- April, 1719: ‘Accott the Earl of Hoptoun to George Livingston for humby, April 1719,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 633, HHPT. This account for ironwork for the month of April, 1719 amounted to £0.9s.4d sterling.
- October, 1719: ‘Accompt The Right Honorable The Earle of Hoptoun To Thomas Millar, 1719,’ NRAS/888 Bundle 3025, HHPT. Account for slate work carried out at Hopetoun during August, September, and October, 1719 amounting to £88.5s Scots. Project locations included the stables at Humbie, the dovecote at Midhope Castle, and the stables and deer house of Hopetoun House.

Appendix H: Approximation of Building Costs

Note: These costs are based on available records and amounts; the available documentation is incomplete. Furthermore, some documents did not include total costs and had to be foregone. Others did not include the year and so were not included in the year-by-year calculations. These calculations also exclude the cost of the Philip Tideman paintings (1703) since that was listed in guilders. Therefore, the numbers provided here are approximations designed to assist modern readers in understanding how much was spent on building Hopetoun House. Furthermore, these calculations take into account the cost of construction for the entire country seat, not just the main house. This reflects this dissertation's emphasis that a country seat involved a great deal more than the house. While thoroughly researched and calculated, these totals should not be considered as hard and secure due to the above variables.

Approximation of Building Costs by Craft

- Mason-works (which is recorded as having been carried out from 1699-1716)
  £34,134.12s.7 2/3d Scots

- Glassworks (which is recorded as having been carried out from 1703-1711)
  £1,716 Scots
- Plumbing-works/lead-works/lead bought (which is recorded as having been carried out from 1701-1717)
  £5,917.3s.1d Scots

- Wright-works (which is recorded as having been carried out from 1699-1712)
  £8,040.4s.9d Scots

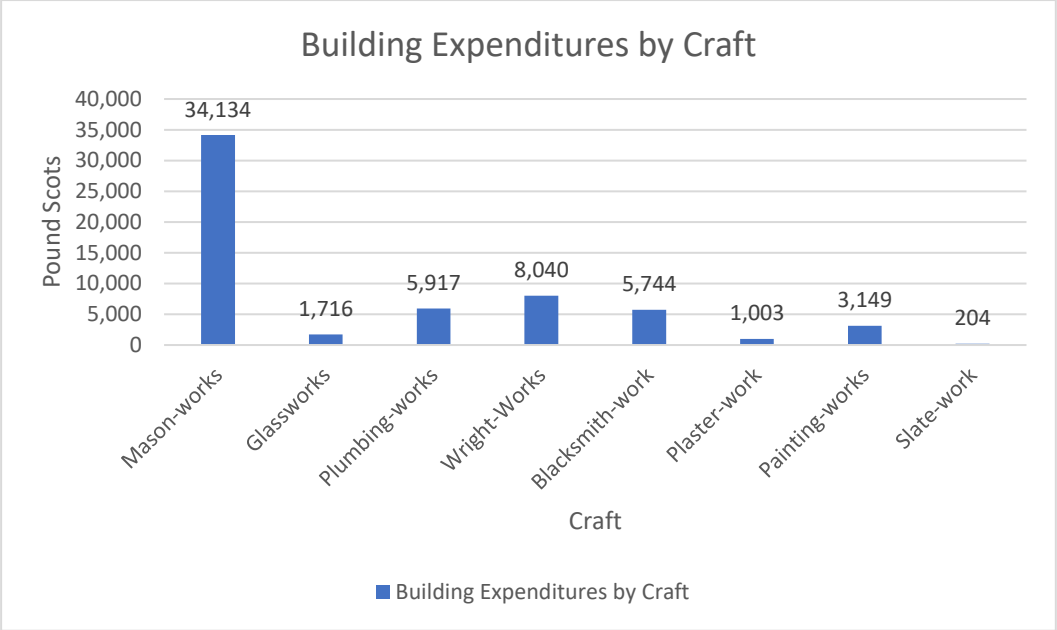
- Brass- and ironworks (which is recorded as having been carried out between 1703 and 1719)
  £5,744.2s.10d Scots

- Plaster-works (which is recorded as having been carried out between 1703 and 1704)
  £1,003.12s.10d Scots

- Painting-works (which was carried out during various intervals between 1701 and 1715): £3,149.9s Scots

- Slate-work (the two documents pertaining to these projects are from 1711 and 1719; it is very possible that a good deal more slate-work accounts have been lost): £204.5s Scots.

£59,909.15s.1 2/3d Scots/~£4,993 sterling

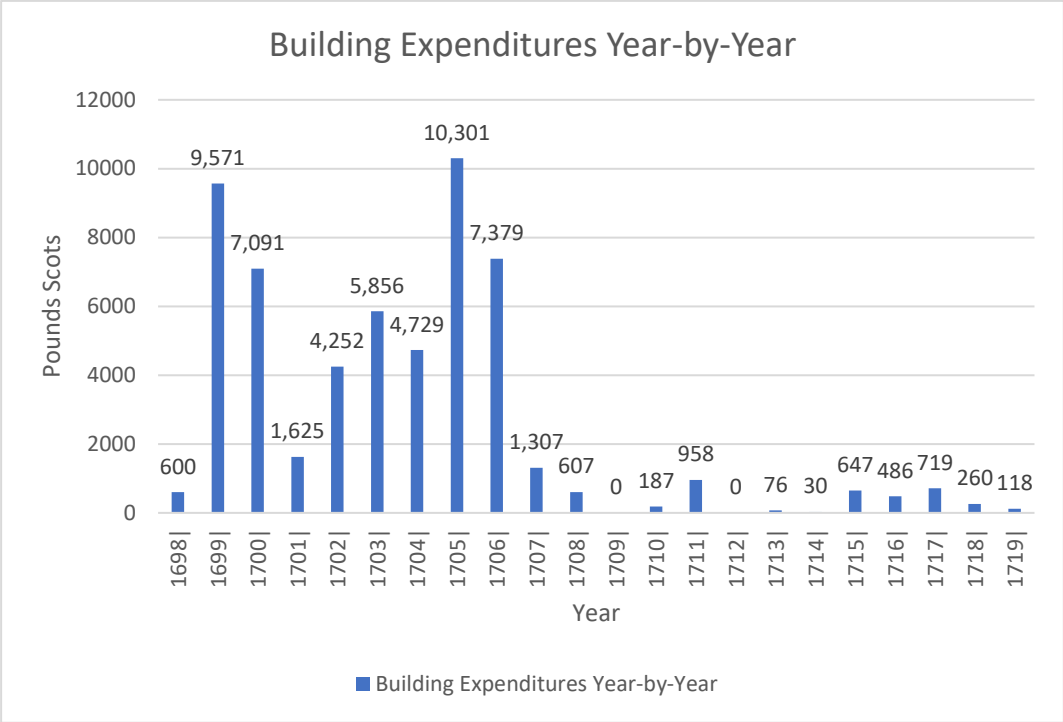


Note: the costs are recorded in whole integers. The graphing programme does not recognise shillings and pence and trying to convert those amounts into rounded decimals would interfere with the data.

Approximation of Building Costs by Year

- 1698: £600 Scots
- 1699: £9,571.0s.9d Scots
- 1700: £7,091.10s Scots
- 1701: £1,625.12s Scots
- 1702: £4,252.18s Scots
- 1703: £5,856.8s.8d Scots
- 1704: £4,729.16s.10d Scots
- 1705: £10,301.12s.7d Scots
- 1706: £7,379.14s.3 2/3d Scots
- 1707: £1,307.2s.8d Scots
- 1708: £607.5s.10d Scots
- 1709: £0
- 1710: £187.12s.10d.2fa Scots
- 1711: £958.13s.10d Scots
- 1712: £76.15s Scots
- 1713: £210.1s.8d Scots
- 1714: £30.15s.3d Scots
- 1715: £647.19s.5d Scots
- 1716: £486.4s.10d Scots
- 1717: £112.11s.7d.2fa Scots
- 1718: £258.17s.2d Scots
- 1719: £118.13s.1d.2fa Scots

Total: £55,998.6s.4 2/3d.2fa Scots/~£4,667 sterling



Note: the costs are recorded in whole integers. The graphing programme does not recognise shillings and pence and trying to convert those amounts into rounded decimals would interfere with the data.

The combined total of each craft is **£59,909.15s.1 2/3d Scots** (or approximately £4,993 sterling), all of which was carried out between 1699 and 1719. As shown by the graph and table above, the heaviest period of building expenditure was between 1699 and 1707. Nonetheless, work continued up until 1719; the majority of these projects were most likely decorative or repair works (painting, smith-work, etc.). Thus, work was continuous. It is clear that the Hope family undertook an enormous and costly building project. As the timeline underscores, the notion that the Hopes paid all of their construction bills is well-documented.

Appendix I: The Philip Tideman Paintings

The purpose of this appendix is simply to list the Tideman paintings in the order that they appear in his documented list and detail the stories (both mythological and historical) they depict. It is first important to include the transcription of this document here. A brief explanation of each painting will take place thereafter. Since Classics scholarship and the translation of their texts have changed greatly since the turn of the eighteenth century, Tideman's citations will not be included in the second list. However, the second list will include the paintings' locations cited by Tideman's list and by Basil Skinner. The latter location-type, as well as any that must be deduced, will be marked as 'presumably.' For Basil Skinner's comprehensive summary and analysis of these paintings' significance at Hopetoun, see:

Skinner, Basil. 'Philip Tideman and the Allegorical Decorations at Hopetoun House.' *The Burlington Magazine* vol. 106, no 737 (Augs., 1964): pp. 368-73. http://www.jstor.org/stable/874371.

Transcription of Philip Tideman, List of Paintings for Hopetoun House, account of paintings, 1703-4, NRAS/888 Bundle 635, HHPT

Anno 1703 deer Ordre van den Heer Drummond genhildert

1. July: Mars en Venus Odyssea Homer lib 8, breet + voet + hoog, 8 voet. daarvan entfangen van den dock entfangen: 50 guilders 6 stuyvers

2. Augustus: Scipio Luceyus en de truyd van (?) Cartago. Genomen uyt Titus tivius lib 2. Riyade het Schoorctaceurtuk voor Hoptouns Chambd hoog 52 6 breet 32 60, daarvan entfangen den dock kond 4 gulders: 30 guilders

3. October: den Jongeting verlaat de Wettusten genoin en uyt Horaty Zime beetden een stuk voor Hoptouns Chambr breet 3 voet hoog 3 voet daarvan entfangen van den dock entfangen: 30 guilders

4. October: Apollo spelt tegen Pan daar den berggod Tinotus oordeelt greunen uyt Ovidy Metamorphosis lib ii een stuck voor Hoptouns Chambd hoot 3 voet breet 2v 9 duyn daarven entfangen van den dock entfangen: 30 guilders

5. November: Diana en Actaeon Ovidius lib 3 breet + voet + goog 8 voet daarvan entfangen van den dock entfangen: 50 guilders

6. December: Ganimedes ovidius lib 10 ryade een agt kante dock tot de Oupet daarvan entfangen 30 guilders van den dock 4g 12 st: 34 guilders 12 stuyvers

Anno 1704

7. January: Schip van Ulysses by de (?) genomen uyt Homeri Odyssea lib 12: 50 guilders

8. January: Penelope en by Gaar de Huwetykseliefde Odyssea Homeri lib 24 zynde en stuk boven de deur in Ladys Chambr : 30 guilders

9. February: Jupiter in de gedaante van Amphitrion groet Alemene Ovidius lib 6 en stuk voor de Schoorsteen in Ladys Chambr hoog 5 v 6d breet 32 60 daarvan entfangen van den dock ontfangen: 30 guilders

10. Lucretia geresolveert en te sterven Livius arste bock rynde een stuk boven de deur in Ladys Chambr hoog 3 v brat 20 9d daarven entfangen den dock ….: 30 guilders

11. Maart: Andromeda door Perseus verlort Ovidius Metamorphosis lib 4 hoog 8v breet 4v daarvan entfangen den dock hond 7 ge: 50 guilders

12. April: Herkules spint ter tufde van Omphate Ovidy fastes lib 2 breet 4v hoog 8 v den dock konnd 7 ge: 50 guilders

13. May: Aurora en Cephalus ovid Metam lib 7 breet 4 v hoog 5 v daarvan entfangen van den dock entfangen

14. May: Mercurius en Calypso Odyssea Homeri lib 5 breet 4v hoog 5 v daarvan entfangen van den dock entfangen: 30 guilders

15. Juny: Vertumnus by Pomono Ovidius lib 14 breet 4v hoog 3v 6d daarvan entfangen den dock kond 2 ge 4 ste: 30 guilders

16. Juny: Narcissus op ziy zelfs verliest Ovid lib 3 breet 4v hoog 3v 5d daarvan entfangen den dock kond 2ge 4ste: 30 guilders

17. Juny: Bachus vertroost Ariaddne genomen uyt Ovidy metamorphosis lib 8 breet 4v hoog 2v 8d daarvan entfangen den dock kond 1 ge 10 ste: 30 guilders

18. July: Diana by Endimion genomen uyt tableau de muses, ook Ovide rondeaux voor bed Chambr Second Story breet 3v hoog 2v 10d daarvan entfangen den dock kond 1ge 6ste: 30 guilders

19. Augustus: Daphne en Apollo ovid lib 1 voor bed Chamb Second story, breet 3 v hoog 3v daarvan entfangen der dock kond 1 ge 8ste: 30 guilders

20. Augustus: Paris brengd Helena binnen Trojen Ovidius 12 voor de Anti Chambr breet 3v hoog 2v 9d daarvan entfangen van den dock entfangen: 30 guilders

21. Paris Schaakt Helenam ovidius lib 13 in oration Ulyssi voor de Anti Chamber breet 3v hoog 2v 9d daarvan entfangen 30 ge van den doeck ent: 31 guilders 6 stuyvers

22. September: Paris oordeelt Venus de Schoonste Ovidius lib 13 ofte in den brief van Paris (?) voor de Anti Chambr breet 3v hoog 2v 9d daarvan entfangen 30 ge van den dock 1 ge 6 ste: 31 guilders 6 stuyvers

23. September: Pandora en Epimetheus, ovide rondeaux ofte uyt de ovidisse verflaringen door Caret vermander voor de Anti Chambre hoog 2v 6d breet 3v 3d daarvan entfangen 30ge van den dock 1 ge 6 ste: 31 guilders 6 stuyvers

24. October: Cupido door de Overwinning gekroont leyd de genius van diana in Apollo gevangen een stuk voor de Schooorsteen in bed Chambr Second Stoory hoog 4v 4d breet 3 voet daarvan ontfangen 30 van den dock 2 ge: 32 guilders

25. October: de Zeevaart (?) en veerheven zynde een stuk voor de Schoorsteen mantel in bed Chambr Second Storey hoog 4v 2d breed 3v 3d daarvan ontfangen den dock kond 2ge: 30 guilders

26. October: het lof der Studien een stuk boven de deur in bed Chamber hoog 3v breet 2v 10d daarvan entfangen

27. November: den loon des godvrugtigen en naartigen Arbeyds een stuk boven de deur in bed Chambr hoog 3v breet 2v 10d daarvan entfangen van den dock entfangen: 30 stuyvers

28. November: de lente voor de Antichmabr Second Storey hoog 1v 7d breet 2v 10d entfangen 30 g en de dour 18 st: 30 guilders 18 stuyvers

29. November: de Somer voor de anti Chamber Second Storey hoog 2v 4d breet 30 entfangen 30ge van den dock 1g 2 ste: 31 guilders 2 stuyvers

30. December: den Herfst, voor de anti Chamber Second Story hoog 2v 4d b 3v, entfangen 30ge van den dock 1ge 2ste: 31 guilders 2 stuyvers

1705
[MISSING PAGES that include 31-35]

36. Maart: den Adel of de Gelheyt voor East closet v breet 2v 10d daarvan entfangen 30 ge van den dock 1 ge 6 ste: 31 guilders 6 stuyvers

37. Maart: de Endragt de Huyselyken en Polityken Staat voor East closet hoog 3v breet 2v 6d daarvan ontfangen den dock kond 1ge 4 ste: 30 guilders

Somma 1255 guilders 10 stuyvers

PHILIP TIDEMAN

The Stories Behind the Paintings

1. **Mars and Venus. Presumably Main Staircase.** This painting would have depicted Mars, the god of war and protector of growth, and Venus, the goddess of love. Venus was the consort of Mars and their relationship had long been a choice subject for artists.[1547] Tideman's list specifically cites book eight of *The Odyssey,* in which Ulysses heard the song about the love of Mars and Venus, as the reference point for this particular painting.[1548] Although married to Vulcan, Venus used her marital bed to have a secret affair with Mars.[1549] The son god, Helios, told Vulcan, son of Jupiter and Juno and god of artisans, of their tryst. Vulcan sought his revenge by crafting a chain net and ensnaring the adulterous lovers on the same bed when they next met.[1550] Vulcan then brought them, bound and naked, to Mount Olympus where they were mocked and shamed by the gods.[1551] Neptune beseeched Vulcan to free them so that they could repay their debts. Upon their release, Mars fled to Thrace and Venus to Paphos on Crete, where the Graces bathed her, anointed her with immortal oil, and clothed her.[1552]

1547 'Mars,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature,* edited by Howatson, M.S.: Oxford University Press, 2011; 'Venus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1548 Homer, *The Odyssey* 8.266-366, translated by W. Walter Merry, James Riddell, and D.B. Monro (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1866), from *Perseus*, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0136%3Abook%3D8%3Acard%3D250 (accessed 5 October, 2018).

1549 Homer, *The Odyssey* 8.266-70.

1550 Homer, *The Odyssey* 8.270-99.

1551 Homer, *The Odyssey* 8.300-43.

1552 Homer, *The Odyssey* 8.344-66.

2. **Scipio and the Carthaginian Bride. Lord Hopetoun's bedchamber.** For title translation, see Skinner, 'Philip Tideman.' This title most likely refers to Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, who was Rome's greatest general during the Second Punic War.[1553] Although his father was defeated by Hannibal at the Battle of Ticinus in 218 BC, Scipio ultimately drove the Carthaginians out of Spain by 206 BC.[1554] Although Tideman cites book two of Livy's *History of Rome,* the scene in question does not appear until books 28-30 of Livy's work. During the Second Punic War, Scipio allied himself with King Syphax (king of the Masaesulians of Numidia in North Africa) as a way to contain the spread of the Carthaginian's influence.[1555] However, Syphax was enamoured by the daughter of Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal. Hasdrubal gave his daughter, Sophonisba, to Syphax to marry in an effort to form an alliance between the Masaesulians and Carthaginians. Overcome by his lust for Sophonisba, Syphax betrayed Scipio and his Roman alliance.[1556] Scipio and Masinissa ultimately defeated Syphax and Scipio took him as a prisoner of Rome in return for his betrayal.[1557] Upon being interrogated by Scipio, Syphax confessed that the lust he had for Sophonisba had blinded him. He stated that her seductive influence had caused him to destroy his allegiance with Rome.[1558] Sophonisba had in that time married Syphax's enemy, Masinissa (another North African king).[1559] Sophonisba could not bear the thought of being defeated by Rome and so used her feminine wiles to seduce Masinissa into marrying her.[1560] Scipio told Masinissa that since Syphax had been defeated, everything the king possessed—including his wife—now belonged to Rome.[1561] Scipio calmly demanded that Masinissa turn Sophonisba over to him so that the Roman Senate could decide her fate as a spoil of war.[1562] Masinissa flatly refused and so Scipio sent a servant with a cup of poison to Sophonisba with the message that falling into the hands of Rome would greatly dishonour

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1553 'Scipio, 1. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1554 *Ibid.*

1555 Livy, *The History of Rome* 28.17., translated by Frank Gardner Moore (London: William Heineman Ltd, 1949), from *Archive*, https://archive.org/stream/livywithenglisht08livyuoft#page/72/mode/2up (accessed 5 October, 2018).

1556 Livy, *The History of Rome* 29.23, translated by Rev. Canon Roberts (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1912), from *Perseus,* http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0144:book=29:chapter=23&highlight=scipio%2Cbride (accessed 5 October, 2018).

1557 Liv. 30.12 and Liv.30.13.

1558 Liv. 30.13.

1559 Liv. 30.12 and Liv. 30.13.

1560 Liv. 30.12.

1561 Liv. 30.14

1562 *Ibid.*

her homeland, her father, and both of her husbands.[1563] Sophonisba agreed and dutifully drank the poison.[1564]

3. **Youth Forsaking Lust. Lord Hopetoun's bedchamber.** For translation, see Skinner, 'Philip Tideman.' Tideman vaguely cites Horace as the source material for this painting. The subject matter for this painting remains clear.

4. **Apollo Plays Against Pan as the Mountain God, Tinotus, Judges. Lord Hopetoun's bedchamber.** Pan, the god of shepherds and of flocks, boasted that his musical talents were superior to those of Apollo, the son of Jupiter and Latona and god of light and purification.[1565] The mountain-god, Tmolus, acted as judge of the musical duel that ensued between Apollo and Pan. [1566] Although Tmolus declared Apollo the winner, much to other gods' approval, King Midas, who happened to be present, dissented in favour of Pan.[1567] Infuriated, Apollo punished Midas by turning his ears into those of a donkey.[1568]

5. **Diana and Actaeon. Presumably Main staircase.** This painting depicted Actaeon and Diana, the goddess of woodland.[1569] Because Actaeon made the dual mistake of claiming to be a superior hunter to Diana and then stumbling upon her bathing, Diana turned him into a stag; Actaeon was later killed and ripped apart by his own hounds.[1570]

6. **Ganymede. Presumably Main staircase.** Ganymede was the son of Tros, King of Troy. Zeus was mesmerised by his beauty. As such, Zeus sent gods or eagles, or appeared as an eagle himself, to carry Ganymede to Mount Olympus. Ganymede became Zeus' cup-bearer and Zeus gave King Tros a pair of divine horses in return.[1571]

7. **Ulysses' Ship Passes by the Sirens. Presumably Main staircase.** This painting would have illustrated the moment when Ulysses' ship passed by an island with sirens in the Straits of

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1563 Liv. 30.15.

1564 *Ibid.*

1565 'Apollo,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*; 'Pan,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.152-5, translated by A.D. Melville and Edward J. Kenney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford World's Classics, 1986), from *Oxford Scholarly Editions Online,* 2015, http://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/actrade/9780199537372.book.1/actrade-9780199537372-book-1.

1566 *Met.* 11.156-7.

1567 *Met.* 11.165-78.

1568 *Met.* 11.179-84.

1569 'Diana,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1570 'Actaeon,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1571 'Ganymede,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

Messina.[1572] Sirens were seductive creatures who would lead men to destruction through the beauty of their singing.[1573] Although Ulysses filled the ears of his crew with wax, he left his unfilled and instead had himself bound to the mast of his ship.[1574]

8. **The Devotion of Penelope. Lady Hopetoun's bedchamber.** For title translation, see Skinner, 'Philip Tideman.' Penelope was the wife of Ulysses, king of Ithaca and the hero in *The Odyssey.* Penelope spent the whole of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey,* a 20-year period, waiting patiently for Ulysses' return. A slew of suitors, who assumed that Ulysses had been killed, infested her house to compete for her hand in marriage; they simultaneously made ample use of her hospitality. After years of openly stalling over her decision, Penelope promised to choose a suitor after she had completed weaving a shroud for her father, Icarius. However, every night she unwove the progress she had made that day. She is a celebrated symbol of marital devotion.

9. **Jupiter, in the Guise of Amphytrion, Greets Alcmene. Lady Hopetoun's bedchamber.** Amphitryon was the son of Alcaeus, King of Tiryns, and Astydameia, grandson of Perseus. Alcaeus's brother was Electryon, king of Mycenae. Electryon married Amphitryon's sister, Anaxo, and together they had Alcmene. Alcmene was betrothed to be married to Amphitryon. Alcmene's brothers killed each other in a feud and so Amphitryon came to inherit Mycenae. Alcmene wanted Amphitryon to avenge her brothers before she would marry him. Shortly before he returned from his quest, Jupiter fell in love with Alcmene and raped her will disguised as Amphitryon. Alcmene gave birth to twins: Iphicles, the son of Amphitryon; and Hercules, the son of Jupiter.[1575]

10. **The Resolution and Death of Lucretia. Lady Hopetoun's bedchamber.** Lucretia was the wife of L. Tarquinius Collatinus, who was the great-nephew of the fifth king of Rome. Legend has it that Lucretia was raped by Sextus, the son of the seventh king. Lucretia confessed her trauma to her husband and then committed suicide in shame over her "adultery." She was used in the Early Modern period as a paragon of marital devotion and femininity.

11. **Perseus and Andromeda. Presumably Main Staircase.** The fourth painting depicted Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danae, and Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, king of the

1572 'Sirens,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1573 *Ibid.*
1574 *Ibid.*
1575 'Amphitryon,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

Ethiopians, and Cassiopeia.[1576] After Cassiopeia boasted that Andromeda's beauty surpassed that of the Nereids (sea-nymphs), Poseidon punished them by sending a sea-monster to ravage their kingdom.[1577] The oracle of Ammon told the king and queen that the monster could only be pacified by sacrificing Andromeda; she was subsequently tied to a rock on the shore.[1578] Meanwhile, after killing the Gorgon, Medusa, Perseus bagged her head and had it with him when he went to rescue Andromeda.[1579] He defeated the sea-monster—as well as Andromeda's uncle and suitor, Phineus—by showing it Medusa's head and turning it to stone.[1580]

12. **Hercules and Omphale. Presumably Main Staircase.** Hercules fell in love with Iole, daughter of Eurytus and king of Oechalia. However, her father and brothers forbade him from marrying her. Hercules subsequently pushed one of her brothers, Iphitus, from the walls of the city of Tiryns. As punishment, the Delphic oracle had him enslaved. He was bought by Omphale, queen of Lydia, and made to do a woman's work in woman's dress; Omphale took his lion's skin and club in the meantime.[1581] Hercules and Omphale also became lovers.[1582]

13. **Aurora and Cephalus. Presumably Main Staircase.** This painting most likely depicted a love scene between these two figures. Aurora (daughter of Hyperion and Theia and sister of Helios, the sun-goddess, and Selene, the moon-goddess) is the dawn-goddess.[1583] Cephalus is among the beautiful youths she took as her lovers. Their affair led to a rift between Cephalus and his wife, Procris. Diana, goddess of the hunt, gave Procris an ever-successful hound and a spear which never missed its mark. Procris gave these to Cephalus as a reconciliatory gift. Aurora subsequently made Procris jealous of the time that Cephalus devoted to hunting. In response, Procris hid in the bushes to spy on Cephalus' hunt. Cephalus, thinking she was an animal, threw his spear at her and killed her.[1584]

1576 'Andromeda,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*; 'Perseus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1577 'Andromeda,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1578 *Ibid.*

1579 'Perseus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1580 'Andromeda,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*; 'Perseus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1581 'Heracles,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*; Ovid, *Fasti* II.317-26, translated by James George Frazer and revised by G.P. Goold, second edition (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989 and reprinted 1996), from *Loeb Classical Library,* https://www-loebclassics-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/LCL253/1931/pb_LCL253.v.xml (accessed 6 October, 2018).

1582 Ovid, *Fasti* II.327-331.

1583 'Eos,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1584 'Cephalus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

14. **Mercury and Calypso. Main Staircase.** Even though this painting refers to Mercury, this figure was most likely Hermes. Mercury is a Roman god and is the son of Maia and Jupiter; he shares attributes with Hermes. Like Hermes, Mercury is the god of travel, movement, commerce, and eloquence. He carries a rod with two entwined snakes and wears winged shoes and a winged hat.[1585] Calypso, the daughter of Atlas, is a goddess or nymph. She lived on Ogygia where Ulysses washed ashore after his shipwreck. She kept Ulysses on Ogygia for seven years. She promised him immortality if he would marry her in exchange. After Jupiter sent Hermes to release him, Calypso gave Ulysses the materials to make a new boat.[1586] This painting most likely depicts the moment that Hermes appeared to Calypso and Ulysses.

15. **Vertumnus and Pomona. Unknown.** Pomona is the goddess of fruit and the wife of Vertumnus.[1587] Vertumnus's origin (most likely Etruscan) and function (he is sometimes associated with the changing of the seasons) are mysterious. He wooed Pomona in a series of forms, such as a ploughman and a reaper.[1588]

16. **Narcissus. Unknown.** He is a beautiful youth and the son of Boeotian river god, Cephisus, and the nymph, Liriope. The nymph, Echo, fell in love with Narcissus but he rejected her. Venus punished him by having him fall in love with his own reflection. Since Narcissus was obviously unsuccessful in wooing himself, he fell into deep despair and wasted away.

17. **Bacchus Comforts Ariadne. Unknown.** Ariadne, the daughter of Minos and Pasiphae, fell in love with Theseus. She gave him the thread which he used to escape the cave where he killed the Minotaur. Theseus fled with Ariadne but then abandoned her on the island of Dia (Naxos).[1589] Bacchus (the god of wine and ritual madness or ecstasy) found her, married her, and made her immortal.[1590]

18. **Diana and Endymion. Second-storey bedchamber.** In Greek myth, Endymion is a beautiful youth known for his eternal sleep on Mount Latmus.[1591] Selena, the moon-goddess, fell deeply in love with him and would visit him in his slumber.[1592] It is likely that Diana (or Artemis, the goddess of the hunt) replaced Selena in this painting

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1585 'Mercury,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1586 'Calypso,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1587 'Pomona,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1588 'Vortumnus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1589 'Ariadne,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1590 'Ariadne,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*; 'Dionysus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1591 'Endymion,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1592 *Ibid.*

since the former is not traditionally associated with Endymion in Greek mythology.

19. **Daphne and Apollo. Second-storey bedchamber.** Daphne is a nymph, the daughter of a river-god. She was a huntress and swore off lovers. Nonetheless, Apollo fell deeply in love with her. Daphne rejected him and fled. She also prayed to the river-god, Peneus, to save her from his lust. In response, Peneus turned her into a laurel tree.[1593]

20. **Paris Brings Helena to Troy.**
21. **Paris and Helen.** } **An Unspecified Antechamber**
22. **Paris Judges Venus, the Most Beautiful.**

This cycle depicts the major events of the love between Paris and Helen. Paris was the son of Priam, King of Troy, and his wife, Hecuba. Because a seer prophesied that he would cause the destruction of Troy, he was cast out by his parents and was subsequently rescued and raised by shepherds on Mount Ida.

[*Paris Judges Venus, the Most Beautiful*]
The marriage feast of Peleus and the goddess Thetis took place in this time. Eris, the Goddess of Discord, threw down the golden apple of Discord as a prize for the most beautiful goddess. Juno, Minerva, and Venus all fought over it and appealed to Paris, the most handsome mortal man, to settle their argument. Each promised a prize for his choice: Hera promised greatness; Athena promised success in war; and Venus promised the most beautiful woman world as his wife. Paris chose Venus as the most beautiful goddess.[1594]

[*Paris Brings Helena to Troy*]
Priam's servants kidnapped his favourite bull to make into the prize at some funeral games. Paris then entered the games to try and win back the bull. His sister, Cassandra, recognised him and Paris was welcomed back into the family. Priam sent Paris as an ambassador to Menelaus, King of Sparta; Menelaus's wife, Helen, fell in love with Paris. Paris and Helen subsequently fled back to Troy together with the help of Venus, which sparked the Trojan War.[1595]

[*Paris and Helen*]
Paris joined the war-effort as an archer. Paris was soundly beaten by Menelaus in their one-on-one battle and had to be rescued by Venus. Paris and Helen then reunite and make love. After Paris

1593 'Daphne,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1594 'Paris, Judgement of,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*
1595 'Paris,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

killed Achilles with an arrow guided by Apollo, Philoctetes killed Paris with a poisoned arrow.[1596]

23. **Pandora and Epimethus. An Unspecified Antechamber.** This story originates with the myth of Prometheus, a Titan associated with the protection and champion of humankind. After Zeus deprived man of fire, Prometheus famously stole a spark from heaven and delivered it to man in a stalk of fennel. Additionally, Prometheus taught man arts and sciences to help them better their lives. He also tricked Zeus to take the less desirable portions of sacrificed animals (bones and fat) in order to leave the meat for man. In an effort to seek revenge, Zeus had Hephaestus craft the first woman, Pandora, out of clay. Athena subsequently breathed life into her, other gods gave her every charm, and Hermes taught her flattery and guile. Since Prometheus rejected her as a gift, she was instead given instead to Prometheus's brother, Epimethus. Pandora brought a jar containing evils and diseases and released them upon the hitherto safeguarded world. All that was left in the jar was hope, which served as consolation for mankind.[1597]

24. **Cupid, Crowned by Victory, Drives the Genies [Genii] of Diana and Apollo in Bonds. A Second-Storey Bedchamber.** For translation, see Basil Skinner. In Greek mythology, Artemis (or Diana) and Apollo were twins, the daughter of Jupiter and Latona.[1598] This painting does not appear to have any roots in Classic mythology but is instead an invented allegorical painting, like Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time.* Additionally, Paris Bordone painted *Venus, Mars, and Cupid Crowned by Victory,* housed in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, in 1550.

25. **An Allegory of Voyaging. Above the mantel in a second-storey bedchamber.** For title translation, see Skinner, 'Philip Tideman.' An allegory of travelling.

26. **The Praise of Studying. A bedchamber.** An allegory in the praise of study.

27. **The Rewards of Industry. A bedchamber.** An allegory in the praise of industry and productivity.

28. **Spring. A Second-Storey Antechamber.** An allegory of spring.

1596 *Ibid.*

1597 'Prometheus,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

1598 'Artemis,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

29. **Summer. A Second-Storey Antechamber.** An allegory of summer.

30. **Autumn. A Second-Storey Antechamber.** An allegory of autumn.

31. **Missing**

32. **Missing**

33. **Missing**

34. **Missing**

35. **Missing**

36. **Nobility. Unknown (presumably Lord Hopetoun's closet).** For translation, see Skinner, Philip Tideman. A painting depicting nobility.

37. **The Union of the Political and Domestic State. Unknown (presumably Lord Hopetoun's closet).** For translation, see Skinner, 'Philip Tideman.' This was presumably a painting depicting the beneficial effects of a union between what would now be called the public and private sectors.

Paintings Listed by Basil Skinner that are Missing from Tideman's List

1. **Universal Prosperity. Unknown (presumably Lord Hopetoun's closet).** This was presumably a painting depicting the effects of universal prosperity.

2. **Winter. Presumably a Second-Storey Antechamber.** An allegory of winter.

3. **Adonis Leaves Venus.**
4. **The Death of Adonis.** **Presumably Lady Hopetoun's closet.**
5. **Venus Mourns for Adonis.**

This cycle depicts the love between Venus and Adonis. Adonis, a beautiful youth, was the result of an oedipal relationship: his father, Cinyras the king of Cyprus, was also the father of his mother, Zmyrna or Myrrha. Venus forced this relationship as a punishment for Zmyrna's refusal to honour her. Cinyras discovered that Zmyrna was his daughter and decided to kill her. Zmyrna was then turned into a myrrh tree, from which Adonis was born. Venus, enamoured by his beauty, fell in love with Adonis. Adonis was killed by a wild boar when out hunting.[1599]

[1599] 'Adonis,' in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.*

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